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ART. X.—*Some Account of the Arabic Work entitled "Niháyatu'l-irab fí akhbáru'l-Furs wa'l-'Arab," particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Kings.* By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

To the curious book of which the full title stands at the head of this article, I have already alluded in my communication to the Journal of January, 1899, on *The Sources of Dawlatsháh*, pp. 51–53. I now propose to give such account of its contents as is possible within the limits here prescribed. For this purpose I have made use of the Cambridge Codex (belonging to the Burckhardt Collection) marked Qq. 225. Though the book is a rare one, at least three other manuscripts are known — two in the British Museum (see the old Arabic Catalogue, pp. 418 and 581)¹ and one (marked A. 1741) at Gotha. The last was used by Professor Nöldeke, in his reference to the *Niháyat*, at pp. 475–476 of his excellent *Geschichte . . . der Sasaniden*. He describes it as "in the main a quite arbitrary recension of Dīnawarī, though here [namely, in the Romance of Bahráṁ Chūbīn] it had before it an essentially fuller text than this," and briefly characterizes it as "das seltsame, ziemlich schwindelhafte Werk." When I first lighted on the book at Cambridge, not being aware of the existence of other copies, or of Nöldeke's unfavourable judgment as to its value, I was elated beyond measure, believing that I had at last found the substance of that

¹ These MSS., marked *Add.* 18,505 and *Add.* 23,293, I have only examined superficially, but enough to satisfy myself as to their identity. The former is a poor and inaccurate text, and is incomplete, the end corresponding with f. 185b of the Cambridge Codex. It presents a rather different text in places, and is entitled in the colophon *Ta'rikhu'l-Asma'i*. The other, dated A.H. 1043, more closely agrees with our codex, and is entitled in the colophon "*Kitābu'n-Niháyat*, which is the *Siyaru'l-Mulūk*."

precious translation of the Sásánian "Book of Kings" (*Khudháy-námak*) made about the middle of the eighth century by the eminent 'Abdu'lláh Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who, born and brought up a Zoroastrian, made a profession of Islám of doubtful sincerity, and was put to death about A.D. 760. The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk*, by which title his Arabic version of the Pahlavi "Book of Kings" (compiled in all probability in its final form, as Nöldeke has shown, during the reign of Yazdigird III, the last Sásánian king) is generally known and cited, is professedly the chief, if not the only source of those portions of the *Niháyat* which deal with Persian history; nay, the *Niháyat* actually pretends to have incorporated in itself this important work, the source whence most of the early Muslim historians chiefly drew their information about ancient Persia, but which, it is to be feared, is, in its original form, absolutely and irrecoverably lost. These pretensions can best be made clear by a translation of its preface, which contains all the direct information as to the alleged circumstances of its compilation vouchsafed to us by its author.

[F. 6b.] "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, than whom there is no other God, the Best of Creators; and may God bless Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets. There is no strength save in God, the High, the Mighty.

"Says al-Aṣma'í¹: — 'Hárúnu'r-Rashíd the King was wont, when he was wakeful, to send for me, and I used to relate to him the history of former nations and past ages. And while I was thus entertaining him one night, he said, "O Aṣma'í, where are these kings and princes?" "O Prince of Believers," I replied, "they have gone their way." Then he lifted up his hand to heaven and said, "O Destroyer of Kings, have mercy upon me on that day when thou joinest me unto them!" Then he summoned Ṣálih, the Keeper of his Oratory,² and said, "Go to the

¹ A distinguished Arabic philologist, born A.D. 740, died A.D. 831. See De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. ii, pp. 123-127.

² صاحب مآل.

Keeper of the Library,¹ and bid him bring forth unto thee the Chronicles of the Kings (*Siyaru'l-Mulúk*), and fetch them hither to me." So the book was brought to him, and he bade me read to him; and that night I read six sections² of it. Then said he: "O Aşma'í,³ the beginning of this book, as thou seest, is from Shem the son of Noah. Hast thou knowledge of the sequence of events from the time of Adam (on whom be Peace), and of what hath been inherited by each successor from the Past, and from the first by the last?" Then he continued: "O Aşma'í, see what was before Shem the son of Noah by way of legends and events, and set them in their right order, and make mention therein of all such as ruled from the time of Adam (on whom be Peace) until it came to Shem the son of Noah, which is the beginning of this book as it is [here] written, king by king and episode by episode; and seek assistance herein of Abu'l-Bakhtarí the jurisconsult."⁴

"So when it was morning I came to Abu'l-Bakhtarí and told him what the Prince of Believers had commanded, and the "Book of Origins" (*Kitábu'l-Mubtadá*) was sent for, and we transcribed from it this portion, which we placed at the beginning of the "Chronicles of the Kings" (*Siyaru'l-Mulúk*), keeping it apart. And we began with the creation of Adam (may God bless him), and his adventures and history, and his fall from Paradise, and how he took up his abode at Mecca, and the period of his sojourn upon earth, from the time when he descended upon

صاحب بيت الحكمة¹.

² اجزا, "quires," generally of 16 pages each.

³ The MS. has قال الاصمعي, "al-Aşma'í says," or "continues," but the sense seems to require some such emendation (قال للاصمعي or قال يا الاصمعي) as I have made.

⁴ MS. ابو البختري. See Ibn Qutayba's *Kitábu'l-Ma'drif* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 258), who states that he died in A.H. 200 (A.D. 815-816), and describes him as a weak authority in traditions.

it until God took him to Himself. Thereafter from amongst his sons Seth assumed the vicegerency, until [in course of time] it came to Enoch (*Akhnúkh*), the son of Mahalaleel (*Mahlá'il*), the son of Cainan (*Qaynán*), the son of Enos (*Anúsh*), the son of Seth (*Shith*), the son of Adam, and passed to him. And Enoch was Idrís the Prophet (may God bless him), and he was so called only by reason of his assiduous study (*dirásat*)¹ of the Books of Adam and Seth. Then [we continue with] the Chronicles [f. 7a] which succeed this, until such time as God sent Noah to summon his people unto Him, and [with] the story of the Deluge, and what happened thereafter until Noah's death. This section was added at the beginning of the "Chronicles of the Kings" in this place, and we kept it separate therefrom, and constituted it an introduction to that book (it comprising some ten leaves), in such wise that the two form a continuous narrative.' "

This Introduction, of which the scope is adequately indicated above, has no reference to the history of Persia, either legendary or actual, and makes no mention of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', so that a brief mention of its contents, and of the authorities cited by Abu'l-Bakhtarí (who is represented as the author), will suffice. *Contents*: Creation of man.—Adam and Eve and the Serpent.—Birth of Cain and Abel and their twin sisters.—Murder of Abel.—Birth of Seth.—Account of Idrís (Enoch) and Noah. *Authorities cited*: 'Atá from ash-Sha'bí from Ibnu'l-'Abbás; Sufyán from 'Atá, etc.; Ibn Bardíl; Ibnu'l-Kalbí. This Introduction ends (f. 14a, l. 9) with the words "the portion added to the Chronicles of the Kings is finished." At this point we resume the translation.

"This is the beginning of the Book of the Chronicles (*Kitábu's-siyar*), which ceased not to be preserved by the Caliphs, unto whom may God Most High be merciful !

¹ Cf. Dínawarí, ed. Guirgass, p. 3, l. 10.

“Saith ‘Amir ash - Sha‘bí¹:—‘Everlasting dominion which perisheth not and hath no end, and enduring rule exempt from all decline, belong to God alone (blessed and exalted is He!), the One, the Single, the Eternal, who subdueth kings by the permanence of His Kingdom, and abaseth tyrants by the might of His Rule. Verily hath God (blessed and exalted is He!) established dominion amongst the peoples of the earth, and made it fugitive and transitory, only as a type of His Kingdom which declineth not, and His Rule which passeth not away.

“‘These are legends of bygone kings and former nations and past ages; of the Tyrants (*al-Jabábira*), the Kings of Yaman (*at-Tabábi‘a*) and the Monarchs of Persia (*al-Akásira*), with accounts of their circumstances, their histories, their burial-places, and their lives, and of what hath been recorded by the Arabs and the Persians concerning their wars, their raids, their poems, their wise sayings, their customs, their harangues, their letters, and their decisions, from the time of Shem the son of Noah until God sent Muḥammad, whom may He bless and keep in peace!

“‘Now they who compiled and composed this book, and set it in order and perfected its arrangement, having heard [the incidents therein recorded] from learned men worthy of credence, were ‘Amir ash-Sha‘bí and Ayyúb² Ibnu‘l-Qirriyya, who were amongst the wisest of the Arabs who concerned themselves with the affairs of former peoples and were acquainted with what had occurred in past ages. And herein they were aided by ‘Abdu‘lláh Ibnu‘l-Muqaffa‘, one of the most learned of the Persians in the Chronicles of their Kings, and the most profoundly versed in the knowledge of their affairs, the fruits of their culture, and the most signal achievements of their wisdom. And he who convened them [i.e. ash-Sha‘bí, Ibnu‘l-Qirriyya, and

¹ His full name was Abú ‘Amir ‘Amir b. Sharāḥbīl. His mother was one of the prisoners captured by the Arabs at Jalūlá (A.H. 12). He died in A.H. 104 or 105, aged 77. See *Ibn Qutayba*, p. 229; *Fihrist*, pp. 73, 74 of the notes.

² See *Ibn Qutayba*, pp. 46 and 206. He was noted for his eloquence, and was put to death by al-Ḥajjāj because he was suspected of inclining to the party of Ibnu‘l-Ash‘ath.

Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' was 'Abdu'l-Malik ibn Marwán, in the year 85'" [of the *hijra* = A.D. 704].

Now this introduction is more than suspicious; since, apart from the fact that Arabic prose literature hardly began until the 'Abbásid period (late eighth century of our era), that the general style and structure of the *Niháyat* are utterly unlike the older historical works composed in Arabic, that we have no record of any such enterprise, and that it is in the highest degree improbable that 'Abdu'l-Malik the Omayyad Caliph (reigned A.D. 685-705) should have troubled himself at all about the legends of the ancients, the association of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who was put to death at a comparatively early age about A.D. 757, with a Caliph who died more than half a century before this date, and with two collaborators of whom one died in A.D. 724 and the other some thirty-five years earlier, is a glaring anachronism. Yet though the framework of the book is clearly false, it does not necessarily follow that its contents are equally worthless. So learned and early a writer as al-Jáhidh (d. A.D. 869) complained that his contemporaries were so indifferent to modern merit, however conspicuous, that he was compelled to attribute his own writings to older authors, like Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' (d. A.D. 757), in order to secure for them a circulation.¹ One's impulse, on detecting such false pretensions in a work on which one has spent considerable time and labour, is to cast it aside in disgust, and so I did with the *Niháyat* after I had read it carefully through, translated a considerable portion of it, and made a careful analysis of the rest.

Baron Rosen's interesting article on the *Khudáy-námak*, or Sásanian "Book of Kings," published on the occasion of the Centenary of the École des Langues Orientales in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki* (St. Petersburg, 1895, pp. 153-191), first brought about a reaction in my mind in favour of the *Niháyat*. For the story about King Balásh

¹ See al-Mas'údi's *Kitábu't-tanbíh wa'l-ishráf*, ed. De Goeje, p. 76.

(Vologeses) and his two wives (the Indian Princess and the Groom's daughter) there given on the authority of al-Kisrawí (about A.D. 870), and recovered from later works wherein he is cited, occurs also in an equally full or fuller form in the *Niháyat*, which also, as observed by Nöldeke, gives in an unusually complete and detailed form the Legend of Bahrám Chúbín. The *Niháyat* agrees in the main with Dínawarí (d. A.D. 895), but is often fuller; and since the additional matter which it contains can be shown in several cases to occur also in old writers of high repute, like al-Kisrawí, whose works are lost save for fragments quoted by their successors, it appears to merit careful examination, as a source whence we may hope to increase our knowledge of the half-historical, half-legendary contents of the Pahlaví "Book of Kings."

To another feature common to the *Niháyat* and *Dinawarí* I have called attention in the article already mentioned, namely, the occurrence of Persian words and phrases cited in the original. In Dínawarí, for instance, we find, besides numerous Persian titles like *Işbahbad* (= *Spahpet*, *Sipahbad*, "commander-in-chief"), *Hazár-fat*¹ (= *Hazárpét*, *Hazárbad*, "captain of a thousand"), short phrases like "*Zeh sucár!*" ("Bravo, horseman!" p. 105), "*Mard u mard*" ("Man to man," as a challenge to single combat, p. 130), "*Dirán imadand!*" ("The demons are come!" p. 133), and the like. In the *Niháyat* such phrases (accompanied in every case, so far as I recollect, by an Arabic translation) are more numerous. I cited one connected with the story of Wahriz and the words *zan án* in my former article,² and I will now give a few more instances. "*Sháh-i-jahán*" (f. 110b) is correctly explained as "*Rabbu'd-dunyá*," "Lord of the World." The epithet applied to Yazdigird I, given by Arab writers as "*al-Athim*," is given (f. 123a) in its Persian

¹ Cf. Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 76, n. 2 *ad calc.*

² I have since found an allusion to this anecdote in Nöldeke's above-mentioned work, p. 226, n. 2. It occurs in Ibn Qutayba's *Uyūnu'l-akhbār* (Petersburg codex).

form *Baza-kun* (بَزَكُن).¹ *Si u bist* (f. 129a) is rightly translated "twenty-three." A popular etymology for the name of the place where Bahrām Gūr is supposed to have been engulfed in a bog while out hunting is given on the same page as follows:—

فلَمَّا انقضى ملكه خرج ذات يوم متعمِّداً كما كان يخرج
فرفعت له عاذر من وحش فركض في طلب غير منها فانتهى الى
اجمة فيها عيون ما تنبع فانتهى فرسه الى ذلك الموضع فغرق
فرسه في حمأة حتى غرق بهرام وكان معه داية له فقال داي مرك
آمد يعنى يا ظئر جآ الموت

Dīnawarī's *hazār-mard* and *divān āmadand* also occur (ff. 182a and 224b) with correct explanations, and the cry of the watchmen round the Royal Palace—"Pās! Pās! Pās! Pās! *Khusraw Shāhānshāh!*" (f. 207b). These examples suffice to prove clearly that the author or authors of these accounts were acquainted with the Persian language. As a curiosity I add the following passage (f. 162a), professing to give the text and translation of a Persian (presumably Pahlavi) inscription alleged to have been found in Yaman, although the Persian text is so corrupt that only some of the words (*arī tūsha*, "provisionless," *bi-khūrand bi-maza*, "will consume with relish") are recognizable:—²

قال فاصابوا في ناووس³ من نواويس الابناء من العجم الذين كانوا
بها لوح حجر⁴ مكتوب فيه⁵ بالفارسية وانئو اميسره كدنيك كد يبره

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *op. laud.*, p. 72, n. 4 *ad calc.*

² This passage I have collated with the British Museum MSS., *Add.* 18,505 (here called A.) and *Add.* 23,298 (called B.), and the variants from these are here given.

³ A. om. [في ناووس].

⁴ A., B. om. [حجر].

⁵ A. om. [فيه].

وثن هیدانی توشه^۱ و تفسیره ارجل بلا^۲ زاد و قوله^۳ و ایذا سمس
حرمة الحی بعده کسالی^۴ و قوله^۵ بخورند بمره^۶ یا کلونه بطیب
طعم و لذاتی^۷

As regards the contents of the *Nihāyat*, they may be divided into the period before Alexander the Great (to f. 48); the Alexander Legend, given with great fulness, and representing the well-known Romance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes (ff. 49-71); the period of the Parthian or "Tribal" Kings (*Mulūku't-Tawā'if*), with which is associated the Legend of Būdāsaf (ff. 72-82); and the Sāsānian with the contemporary Arabian period, which occupies the remainder of the volume (ff. 82-230). It is chiefly, of course, in the last portion that Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and his *Siyaru'l-Mulūk* are cited, though he is occasionally given as the authority for earlier Persian (but never Arabian) legends, as, for instance, the Story of Rustam and Isfandiyād (this form, a more correct though less familiar modernization of the old *Spentadāt*,⁷ is also used by Dīnawarī), and the Story of Farrukhān and Būdāsaf. As it is his alleged contribution to the work which I chiefly desire to discuss, the contents of this portion will be given more fully than the remainder, but I propose to state summarily the contents of the whole

^۱ و اتومسین سک کرد بین و تزهیدانی توبته A.

. وایتوا میسرّه کنیک کرد بیزه و تزهیدا فی توشه B.

^۲ A. بلاد (sic!).

^۳ B. om. [قوله].

^۴ و اذاسیس خترالته الحی بعده کسانی A.

. ایذاسیس حرمة الحی بعد کسالی B.

^۵ A. om. [و قوله].

^۶ بخورند یمره B.; مخورید بمره A.

^۷ Cf. Nöldeke's *Iranische Nationalepos* (separate reprint from Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*), pp. 5 and 10.

book. In so doing I shall often have occasion to refer to Dīnawarī's *al-Akhbārū't-Ṭīwāl* (ed. Guirgass, Leyden, 1888), which I shall denote by the letter 'D.' and to Nöldeke's translation of this portion of Ṭabarī, entitled *Geschichte . . . der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), which I shall denote by the letter 'T.'

The formal description of Qq. 225, the Cambridge MS. of the *Nihāyat*,¹ is as follows:—Ff. 232 of 19·1 × 12·8 c. and 29 ll.; good, clear naskh; some leaves supplied in a later and worse hand; rubrications; transcribed by a certain Faṭḥu'llāh in the middle of Rabī' I, A.H. 1024 (= April, A.D. 1615), for the library of Sayyid Aḥmad b. Sayyid Muḥammad Abu's-Ṣafā. Five leaves have been added at the beginning, of which ff. 3b–5 are occupied by a Table of Contents. The original f. 1, therefore, is now f. 6; f. 2 = f. 7, etc. F. 13 of the original has been lost and replaced by two new leaves (ff. 18, 19); so, too, f. 20 of the original = ff. 26–27. Ff. 216 and 221 of the original (= ff. 223, 228) are missing. The text ends on f. 223 of the original (= f. 230), and the last two leaves are blank. The colophon is as follows:—

تم كتاب سير الملوك المسمى بنهاية العرب في اخبار الفرس
والعرب وذلك في اواسط شهر ربيع الاول سنة اربع وعشرين و الف
وقد كتب برسم خزانة مستجمع العلوم والحكم اعلم علماء العرب
والعجم قاموس جماهير الامم الاعز الامجد السيد احمد بن السيد
محمد ابى الصفا زالت اخبار محامده متلوة وابكار الافكار بمحاسن
شيمه مجلوة
كتبه عبده فتح الله

The contents of the book up to the preface of the so-called *Siyaru'l-Mulūk* have already been described, and we therefore begin at f. 14b.

¹ Even the slight examination of the two British Museum MSS. which I have been able to make sufficed to convince me that the Cambridge codex is far superior to them in point of accuracy.

CONTENTS OF NIHÁYATU'L-IRAB.

Death of Noah.—Shem and his children.—Jamshíd Vīvañhana (D. 4, وَيُوجَهَان, here corrupted into نَوِيْجَهَان).—Persian accounts of him from Ibnu'l-Qirriyya = D. 9, ll. 4–10 (f. 15).—The confusion of tongues (تَبْلِيلُ الْاَلْسِنِ) and dispersion of the nations (f. 17).—The stories of 'Ād, Daḥḥāk-Bívarasp who overthrew Jamshíd, Og the son of Anak, Húd the Prophet, and the Garden of Iram, with 'Abdu'lláh b. Qulába's narrative (f. 22).—Sepulchre of Shaddád, with Arabic verses alleged to have been inscribed on it in the Himyarite character (f. 24).—The Leaden Cupola (f. 25).—Story of Daḥḥāk-Bívarasp continued (= D. 6–8).—Burial-places of Murtadd b. Shaddád, his son 'Amr, his grandson 'Ámir, the Prophet Húd, the son and grandson of Shadíd, etc. (f. 35).—Accounts of Ṣálih the Prophet (f. 38), Abraham (f. 41), the War of the Amalekites with Jurhum (f. 43), the Mission of Shu'ayb, the Destruction of Ṣakhár, Jáshim and Wabár, the descendants of Jurhum b. Qaḥṭán (f. 45).

At this point Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' is first formally cited as the authority for the story of Rustam's combat with Isfandiyád in the following words (f. 45a):—

رجع الحديث الى ملوك العجم ، حديث رستم واسفندياد
قال وفي ذلك العصر كانت حرب رستم واسفندياد ، قال عبد الله
بن المقفع وجدت في كتب العجم حرب رستم واسفندياد آتخ

Of this episode I shall give a complete translation, as a specimen of this portion of the book, but, before doing so, I will mention the names cited as authorities in the pages already reviewed, i.e. the first 44 ff. of the MS.:—ash-Sha'bí, Ibnu'l-Qirriyya, Dagħfal, here called ash-Shaybání (cf. Ibn Qutayba, p. 265), Ibnu'l-Kays an-Namarí

(Ibn Qut., pp. 46, 266), Wuhb [b. Munabbih], 'Abdu'lláh b. Qulába, Ka'bu'l-Aḥbár (erroneously described as living in the reign of Mu'áwiya, who reigned A.H. 41-60, whereas he died A.H. 32), Bisṭám of Ḥaḍramawt (cited by Dagħfal), Ibnu'l-'Abbás, al-Aṣḡagh b. Binána, 'Abdu'lláh b. Salám, 'Abdu'lláh b. Kámil al-Juhaní, al-Bashír b. Ḥayázim al-Ḥimyarí, Omayya b. Abi's-Ṣalt, and al-Lissín. This list is, I believe, complete.

"The Narrative returns to the Kings of Persia : Narrative of Rustam and Isfandiyád."

"Says [the narrator] : 'In this age occurred the combat between Rustam and Isfandiyád. Says 'Abdu'lláh Ibnu'l-Muqaffá' : "I find in the books of the Persians the combat of Rustam and Isfandiyád ; and that the cause of this was that Bushtásf, the son of Bukht-Nuṣṣar (for the Arabs call Luhrásf Bukht-Nuṣṣar), when King Zarádusht (*Zoroaster*) came to him, saying,¹ '*I am an Apostle from the Lord of the Worlds unto thee, and unto the people of my country, and of thy kingdom, to invite thee unto the Religion of the Magians,*' Bushtásf [I say] replied, '*And what is the Religion of the Magians ?*' And [Zoroaster] answered, '*That marriage with sisters and mothers and daughters is lawful unto thee ; and the worship of the Sun and of Fire.*' So Bushtásf hearkened unto that whereunto the accursed one² invited him as to the abandonment of his religion in which he had been ; and he went over to the religion of the Magians, and induced the people of his country to do the same, so that, willing or no, they acquiesced. Now at the beginning of the reign of Bushtásf there had marched against him from the country of Egypt a king of the children of Ḥám at the head of a thousand thousand men of the people of his kingdom. And Bushtásf went forth

¹ = Dínawarí, p. 27. The passages which occur in D. are here placed in italics.

² This epithet, of course, as well as the summary account of the Zoroastrian creed, is an addition of Muḥammadan origin.

to meet him with his hosts, having with him his son Isfandiyád; and they fought a fierce fight, and the victory was to the sons of Hám over Bushtásf, and they took him captive. *And Rustam was in his home in Sajistán.* Now men differ as to the genealogy of Rustam. Some of the learned men of the Persians say that he was of the sons of Tasm b. Núh, who were mighty kings; while some say that his mother was [f. 45b] Tasmíyya and his father of the posterity of Nimrod, the son of Kin'án, *and that thence he was gifted with largeness of frame, strength of body, and natural might.* And when news came to Rustam that Bushtásf had been taken prisoner, he equipped himself with twelve thousand men of the people of Sajistán, and marched on the track of the King of the sons of Hám, who was at the head of two thousand thousand men, after [deducting] those of his followers who had been killed. And [Rustam] fought with him until he delivered Bushtásf from his hands, and drove him forth from his [Bushtásf's] kingdom. And when Bushtásf returned unto his capital, he crowned Rustam with a crown, and made him king over Khurásán and Sajistán, and permitted him to sit on a throne of gold, and bestowed on him many lands in fief, and exalted his rank, and gave him precious gifts; and so he returned to Sajistán. *But when it came to his ears that Bushtásf had abandoned the religion of his fathers, and had agreed to that whereunto Zoroaster invited him of the Magian religion, he was angered thereat with a great anger, and said, 'He hath left the faith of our forefathers, which the last of us have inherited from the first, and hath inclined towards the religion of Zoroaster the infidel.'*¹ *Then he resolved to depose him, and assembled the nobles of his people, and told them what the King had done in abandoning the faith of his forefathers and embracing another faith, and proclaimed to them his deposition. And they supported him in this, and renounced their allegiance to Bushtásf and his son Isfandiyád, who was the strongest man of his time, and whose skin the Arabs*

¹ = D., p. 28, which ends the sentence "to a new religion."

suppose to have been of brass.¹ Then said Isfandiyád's father to him: 'O my son, verily the kingdom will come to thee shortly, and thine affairs will not prosper unless thou shalt kill Rustam and be quit of him. Thou knowest his strength and his power: choose, therefore, what thou wilt from the hosts, and march against him, and bid him return to his allegiance. If he consents, and desists from his present course of action, well and good; if not, fight with him; and I trust that thou may'st conquer him, since thou art his equal in strength and power.' So Isfandiyád chose from the hosts of his father twelve thousand men of the most valiant warriors of Persia, and then marched against Rustam. And news of this reached Rustam, and he came forth to meet him with the men of Khurásán and Sajistán, advancing towards him. And the two armies met in the district of Qúmis, and stood facing one another in battle array.² And Isfandiyád cried out, 'Where is Rustam? Let him come forth, that I may speak with him!' ³ So Rustam came forth, and Isfandiyád said, 'What hath impelled thee to disown thine allegiance to the King and to revolt against him?' Rustam replied, 'I am displeased at what he hath done in abandoning his faith and the faith of his forefathers, and in following Zoroaster in the religion of the Magians, and entering into it.' Isfandiyád answered: 'Verily the King perceived what would befall him from thee in his affairs; abandon, then, continuance in rebellion, and return unto thine allegiance, and remember what [kindness] hath been done to thee by him, and what honour he hath shown thee, and how he exalted thy station [f. 46a] when thou wert living in obscurity in thy land, neglected in thy country.' Rustam answered: 'Verily his obligations to me are greater than my obligations to him, inasmuch as I delivered him from

¹ He is called in Persian روثین تن, i.e. "having a body of [i.e. strong and tough as] brass."

² For these two sentences D. substitutes: "And Rustam came forth to meet him, and they met between the countries of Sajistán and Khurásán."

³ In D. the remainder of the narrative occupies only seven lines. The words "And the Persians tell many tales about this" (i.e. the combat between R. and I.) stand for the elaborate details here given.

death after that he had come nigh unto it; neither will I return to his allegiance until he renounces the religion of the Magians and returns to the faith of our fathers, and otherwise I will fight with him and challenge him to equal combat.' Said Isfandiyád: 'Verily it is not just that captains should lead their troops into positions of peril and spare themselves. Make, therefore, a firm covenant with me, and I will make the like with thee, that thou wilt spare the two armies from battle, and that the fight shall be between me and thee alone, thou contending with me and I with thee; and whichever shall slay his opponent shall take possession of his kingdom, and unto him shall its people turn.' Rustam answered, 'This is granted thee, and to this I consent, for it is fair.' So they bound themselves by an oath to this, and mutually agreed thereunto, and the two armies stood in their ranks under their standards while Isfandiyád went forth unto Rustam, and they fought a fierce fight until night intervened between them. And the arms of Rustam could not touch Isfandiyád by reason of the hardness of his skin, while Isfandiyád could not prevail against Rustam because of his strength and power. So they continued thus forty days. Then Rustam resolved on treachery to Isfandiyád, and drew up his hosts in battle array, and rushed upon the army of Isfandiyád and made a great slaughter of them. And when it was morning, Isfandiyád sent unto Rustam, saying: 'O miscreant and traitor, thou hast broken the pact and betrayed thy trust and pledges which thou didst pledge me and wherewith thou didst covenant with me: come forth unto us to do battle!' So Rustam went forth unto him, and Isfandiyád shot at him a thousand arrows, whereof not one missed its mark, and the wounds weakened Rustam so that he came near to falling from weakness. Then Isfandiyád cried to him, saying: 'This is enough for thee to-day: get thee back, for we are wearied of fighting.' Rustam answered: 'I accord thee this: turn back, for verily one like me is not invited unto anything wherein an equal is concerned but he accepts.' So Rustam turned back, and

came at length unto a deep river in his path, and his horse Rakhsh was unable to cross over it because of its depth. So Rustam dismounted and put his head between the fore-legs and the hind-legs of his steed, and carried him on his neck until he had crossed over the river with him. And Isfandiyád, beholding this, said to his followers: 'Do ye not see how Rustam, notwithstanding the wounds in his body, hath been able to carry his horse, which is one of the stoutest of steeds? There is not the like of him amongst the Persians!' And Rustam spent the whole night plucking out the arrow-heads from his body until it was morning. Then he summoned a soothsayer who was with him, and said, 'What thinkest thou about Isfandiyád?' 'My opinion,' replied the soothsayer, 'is that thou wilt soon slay him [f. 46b], but that thou wilt not long survive him ere thou too shalt perish.' 'I care not,' said Rustam, 'what befalls me so that I kill him; but how shall I contrive to kill him when my weapons make no impression on his skin?' 'No weapons,' replied the soothsayer, 'will make any impression on it save the branches of the tamarisk which is in an island called the Island of Kázarún.' And when Rustam heard this, he sent to Isfandiyád to request a postponement of the battle, holding out hopes of a return to his allegiance; and Isfandiyád consented to this. So Rustam embarked on a ship until he came to this island, which was one of the dependencies of Tabaristán; and he cut from the tamarisk three shafts. Then he returned and made them arrows, fitting them with points and feathers. Then he sent to Isfandiyád challenging him to battle, and he came forth unto him, and Rustam shot him with these arrows in a mortal place, and he died. *Then his hosts returned unto Bushtásh and informed him of what had happened as to the death of his son Isfandiyád and the cause thereof; and thereat sorrow overcame him, and he sickened with the sickness whereof he died. And he bequeathed the kingdom to his grandson Bahman, the son of Isfandiyád,*¹ and then died.

¹ = D., 28, ll. 13-15, which continues: "And when Rustam returned unto his abode in the land of Sajistán it was not long ere he died."

And after the destruction of Isfandiyád, Rustam went forth to the chase, and there sprang up before him a wild ass, and he galloped after it, and came, while his horse was at full gallop, to a well, and fell into it, and died. But it is said [by others] that the wounds inflicted upon him by Isfandiyád's arrows overcame him so that he died. And Bushtásf reigned a hundred and twenty years, and was succeeded by Bahman, the son of Isfandiyád, the son of Bushtásf." ' "

Continuation of Abstract (f. 46b).

Account of Bahman the son of Isfandiyád.—He marries [D. 29, Yrákht] the daughter of Salmál [D. 29, Sámál], the son of Rákha'tam [D. أرخبعم = Rehoboam], called by the Persians Ummídh-dukht, who was one of the Jews whom Bukht-Nuṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) led away captive.—Her brother Rúynál [D. Rúbíl] is made king over Syria by Bahman, and ordered to restore the Temple.—Tomb of Daniel at Sús.—Its rediscovery in the time of 'Umar the Caliph (f. 46b).—Kings of Qaḥṭán in Yaman.—Burial-place of Abú Malik b. Shimr b. Abí Karib, with Arabic verses engraved on an ebony throne therein (f. 47a).—Account of the Tubba' al-Aqran (f. 47b).

The Persian Legend from Bahman to Alexander.

Bahman has a son Sásán and a daughter Khumáni. The latter, after the incestuous custom of the Magians [called *Khréítúk-das*], he takes to wife. When at the point of death (having then reigned eighty years), he causes her to be crowned, and bids her act as regent, but, if she bear a son, surrender the power into his hands when he has reached years of discretion. She bears a son, Dárá, and abdicates in his favour when he is 30 years old. Her brother Sásán, greatly vexed at his exclusion from the Crown, betakes himself to the Kurds in the mountains and becomes

a shepherd, whence he is called "Sásán the Kurd" and "Sásán the Shepherd." Khumání invades Rúm, and compels two architects whom she takes captive to build for her three palaces in Fárs—one in Iṣṭakhr, one on the road thence to Khurásán, and the third two parasangs along the road to Dárábjird. Legend said to have been read on one of her coins [see *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899, p. 52]. On the coronation of Dárá his mother Khumání takes the veil and retires into private life (f. 48b).

The above portion of the narrative corresponds very closely with Dínawarí (pp. 29–30), and is given on the authority of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', who is cited three or four times, but the coin-legend is apparently not ascribed to this source. At this point there is a transition to the history of Yaman, and the legend of Dhú Jayshán, Ṭasīm, and Judays, wherein occurs an episode presenting a striking analogy (to which attention has been called by Baron Carra de Vaux) with the coming of Birnam Wood to Dunsinane in "Macbeth." This is followed (f. 51b) by an account of the sepulchre of Dhú Jayshán, who was defeated by Dárá, to whom the narrative now returns.

Elated with pride at his victory over Dhú Jayshán, Dárá invades Rúm with 100,000 men, defeats Philip of Macedon [*Filuffús*, *Filífús*, in D., p. 41, *al-Faylafús*, for the less correct *Filaqús* of Nidhámí and other Persian writers] in Syria, and exacts from him a yearly tribute of 1,000 [D. 100,000] nuggets of gold each weighing 40 mithqáls, which tribute was paid till the death of Dárá I and the accession to the throne of his son Dárá II.

At this point (f. 52a) the narrative again turns to Yaman, and recounts the bursting of the dam of al-'Iram, etc., after which we come to the Legend of Alexander, which is given at great length and occupies ff. 56a–79a. First come the Persian and Greek accounts of his parentage, and the Persian popular etymology of his name, the plant after which he is called being here designated *Iskandar* [D. *Ál sandar*]. This corresponds very closely with D. 32–34, but the dialogue between Aristotle and Alexander [merely

described by D. as "a long harangue," *مرعظة طويلة*, p. 33] is here given more fully, as well as several miraculous circumstances connected with the liberation of Aristotle from prison by an angel, the destruction, by fire from heaven, of the soldiers who try to recapture him, and the final conversion of Alexander. The war between him and Dárá, as well as the negotiations which preceded it, are described much more fully than in D. 34. Dárá sends five ambassadors to Alexander (f. 59b) with a second letter, and also, "to prove his understanding," the following objects: a golden box or coffin, a precious pearl, a polo bat and ball, and a stocking filled with sesame or coriander-seed. Alexander interprets the pearl as the kingdom of Dárá, "which shall become wholly mine, even as this pearl lies in the hollow of my hand"; the golden box as Dárá's treasure; the bat and ball as himself and Dárá, "whom I will drive before me as the ball is driven by the bat"; and the stocking full of sesame as the Persian hosts, "whom," said he, placing some of the seed in his mouth, "I will grind to powder even as I crush this in my mouth." He then loads Dárá's envoys with presents, and gives them a bag of mustard-seed for the Persian king, who tries to treat it as Alexander treated the millet, with what results may be readily imagined. The narrative now runs very close to that of the *Sháhnáma* (ed. Macan, vol. iii, pp. 1269 et seqq.), and is much fuller than D.; but it differs from the latter in not making Alexander the instigator of Dárá's assassination, in adding an ornate harangue delivered by Dárá to his troops (f. 60), and in mentioning several persons (Dárá's minister Mah-ádhār, his brother Mardán-bih) and places (Júy-bih near Kaskar) not there mentioned. The account of Dárá's death and last wishes, the punishment of his murderers, and Alexander's marriage with his daughter Rawshanak (Roxana) are much the same as in D.

The remainder of the Alexander legend, which is less intimately connected with Persia, agrees very closely with the *Sháhnáma* (iii, pp. 1304-1359), both in matter and arrangement, and less closely with Dínawarí, who omits

several episodes, such as Alexander's visit to the holy men called here *برجمانيون*, but by Firdawsī (*Sh.*, pp. 1327-1331) "Brahmins." The description of them and their city, here called *معبارات*, closely agrees with Qazwīnī's account of Jābalq and Jābars in the *Athāru'l-Bilād* (pp. 17-18). These holy men, questioned by Alexander, foretell the course of history down to the time of Islām (ff. 68b-70b). Next comes the account of the people described by D. (p. 39, ll. 15-18), who are here placed under a queen named *بريانوس*; then Alexander's journey to the West, the city of Jābars, the boiling Fountain wherein the sun sets, and the Land of Darkness; the colloquy with the gigantic birds and with Isráfil the Angel (*Shāhnāma*, iii, pp. 1340-1341). For what follows not Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' but ash-Sha'bi', on the authority of 'Abdu's-Salām, is cited. This includes Alexander's quest with Khidr after the Water of Life, to which he is incited by his Guardian Angel *زريابيل*, wherein Isráfil and the gigantic birds are again introduced; the building of the cities *قالونية* [D. 38, *قافونية*] and *سورية*, here regarded as successive names of one town, not (as in D.) as two separate places; the journey through the lands of the Slavs, Khazars, and Turks to China, and the submission of its Emperor [= D. 38]. Then follow a number of marvels omitted by D., such as the destruction of Alexander's minister *افيلمون* (? Philemon) and a thousand of his men by a sea-monster; the Image of Kús the son of Feridún; Jābars and Jābalq; the talking trees; the Dragon slain by cow-shaped automata; the dead King of 'Ad on the mountain spur; the dialogue of Alexander with the Angel who sustains the mountain, who gives him the title *Dhu'l-Qarnayn* and much good counsel; the horse-headed folk who speak the language of "the Blacks," etc. The remaining episodes — viz., Gog and Magog, and the Great Wall; Alexander's return to Persia, Syria, and Jerusalem; the twelve cities built by him; his discussion with Aristotle as to the best means for securing peace to his country after his death, and the institution of the *Mulūku't-Tawā'if* or "Tribal Kings" (= *Sh.*, iii, p. 1354); and Alexander's

death and burial—occur also in D. (pp. 39–41), though in a more meagre form. The *Niháyat*, for example, places the capitals of the Persian “Tribal Kings” at Máhín, Şaymara, Másbadhán, Nahávand, and Mihrázfádán; mentions the appointment of مهرنمیس (also later in the book هرمس, بهرمس : cf. Nöldeke’s *Sasaniden*, p. 1, “Mihrmas?”), the grandsire of Ardashír Bábakán, as king of Işṭakhr; and gives what purport to be inscriptions, letters, and funeral orations (= *Sh.*, iii, p. 1359) in abundance. The forms of the many foreign names mentioned in the Alexander legend vary considerably in the *Niháyat* (N.), *Dinawari* (D.), and Macan’s ed. of the *Sháhnáma* (Sh.), for instance : قیطون N. = قبطون Sh. 1310–1312; قندافه N. = قیدافه Sh. 1312–1327 = قنداقه, قنداقه D.; قیروان D. = قیران Sh. = قیران N. = قیدروش N. = قیدروش Sh.; نیطقون N. = قیطفور Sh.; کثیر N. = قافونیہ D. = قافونیہ N. = برهمن Sh. = برجمانی Sh.; تاویل, تاريس N. = تاویل, نارس D. = قینانوس N. = صدود D. = میلانوس, مرخانوس N. = مرجانوس D.; فرنیہ D. = قریبہ N. = صیدودا D., etc.

From the Death of Alexander to the Rise of the Sásanian Dynasty.

We now come to the period of the *Mulúku’t-Tawá’if*, or “Tribal Kings,” of which the events are so scantily represented in the national tradition that they hardly fill one page of Macan’s edition of the *Sháhnáma*. The length of this period, between the death of Alexander and the establishment of the Sásanian dynasty, is represented here, as in nearly all Arabic and Persian sources, as 266 years instead of about 550, which was its actual duration. The reason of this false chronology is explained by the learned Mas’údí in his *Kitábu’t-tanbîh wa’l-ishráf* (ed. De Goeje, pp. 97–98). When Ardashír Bábakán, says he, had overthrown Ardawán the Parthian, and established himself as sole

ruler of Persia, a prophecy was current that 1,000 years after Zoroaster the religion founded by him and the Persian Empire would fall together. Now Zoroaster is placed by Oriental historians about 280 or 300 years before Alexander, since whose time 550 years more had elapsed, and therefore only about 150 years of the thousand were still left; so Ardashír, fearing, probably, that the prophecy might conduce to its own fulfilment, deliberately cut off some three centuries from this period, thus extending the prophesied duration of his dynasty 434 years, the approximate time (A.D. 226-652) of its actual duration. This falsification of the records Mas'údí calls "an ecclesiastical and political secret of the Persians." The story is a curious one, as apparently ascribing efficacy to what is recognized as a forged prophecy.

To return, however, to the *Niháyat*. To what D. (p. 41, ll. 10-15) says about the method of settling disputes employed by the "Tribal Kings" it adds (f. 79a) that they were eager after wisdom and culture, and that in their time were written the *Books of Kalila and Dimna, Sindbád, Luhrásf, Shimas, Yúsúsf* (يوسفاسف), *Balúhar* (بلوهر), and *Marúl* (مرول), "that is to say," adds the author, "in the time of بليساس (? Apollonius or Pliny), the expert in talismans." After a brief mention of the coming of Christ [= D. 42, ll. 19-20] and the reign of Ardawán b. Asha b. Ashghán [= D. 42, ll. 12-19], there follows, on the authority of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', the episode of Búdásaf, an adaptation of the Buddha legend, wanting in D., of which the contents are as follows (ff. 79b-86b):—

Legend of Búdásaf (Buddha).

King Farrukhán b. Áfarín b. Asha b. Sábúr b. Ardawán (or Adrawán), being childless, prays for a son. His prayer is answered by the birth of Búdásaf. As this prince increases in years he is filled with sadness at the transitoriness of all earthly things and the misery which prevails in the world, and desires to withdraw from public life and become a hermit.

He questions and argues with his father, who bids him publicly discuss his proposal with the people, appointing the monk Sham'ún (Simeon) arbiter. The King first addresses the assembly, telling them that "there has befallen them what befell the bird Shírmá" (شیرما). The Prince retorts with the Story of the Partridge (قطاة), which is met on the part of the people by the Story of the Gazelle called الجيدا. After the relation of these and other fables the Prince is finally permitted to depart and adopt the ascetic life. He retires to a mountain in 'Irāq on the confines of Ahwáz called مهندق (perhaps a corruption of مهرجانقدق, *Mihriján-gadhaq*, D. 42, l. 14). The King of Ahwáz and his beautiful daughter come to spend the summer in a castle situated near this mountain. One day the King chances on Prince Búdásaf and holds with him a discussion, in which the Parable of the three men in the Garden is introduced. The Princess, hearing of Búdásaf, desires to join him in his ascetic life, and confides in her old nurse, who devises a plan to bring about their marriage. The old nurse holds a discussion with Búdásaf, in which are introduced other parables of birds, etc. Búdásaf is finally induced to marry the Princess, who joins him in his life of pure devotion. Meanwhile Farrukhán dies, and his people seek out Búdásaf and endeavour to persuade him to rule over them in place of his father. Another discussion follows, in which another pious hermit is appointed arbiter. Búdásaf is eventually persuaded to consent to his people's wish and accept the crown. Advice of the old nurse to the Princess, and of her three sisters. A son is born to Búdásaf and his wife in their old age, who is Ardawán (Ádharwán), the last Parthian king, whom Ardashír Bábakán overthrew. This legend, evidently of Indian origin, and belonging to the Buddha and Barlaam-Josaphat cycle of stories, presents a close analogy with the Story of Balásh the Sásánian, the Indian Princess, and the groom's daughter, published with a Russian translation by Baron Rosen in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki* (pp. 153-165), and given further on in the *Niháyat* (ff. 135b-142b).

We now enter on the Sásanian period, which, with the corresponding Arabian history, occupies the remainder of the volume (ff. 89a-230b). In order to keep this article within reasonable limits I shall as far as possible ignore what concerns only the Arabs, and shall, moreover, take Dínawarí's account of the Sásanian kings (pp. 44-149) as my basis, noting only such passages of the *Niháyat* as are omitted from his history or occur in a different form. These matters I shall arrange under the names of the successive kings of the House of Sásán, adding the date of each king (taken from Nöldeke) and the portions of Dínawarí (D.) and the *Niháyat* (N.) which deal with his reign. Nöldeke's *Sasaniden* (transl. of Ṭabarí) is cited as Ṭ.

1. *Ardashír Bábakán* (A.D. 226-241: N. 89-101; D. 44-48).

On the death of Bábak, King of Iṣṭakhr, his son Ardashír is chosen to succeed him.—His brothers are jealous and revolt, but while marching against him are destroyed by the collapse of Khumání's palace (see p. 212, *supra*), situated four parasangs from Iṣṭakhr, in which they have alighted for the night [Ṭ. 8].—Ardashír's dream [= Ṭ. 6].—His harangue to his people.—He takes Dárábjird.—Slays خرمیر [probably = Gochíhr, جزهر: see Ṭ. 4 and n. 4 *ad calc.*], king of جنلبا, and appoints Nársí [? = Tirê of Ṭ. 4-5] governor of his territory.—The kings of Fárs thereon complain of Ardashír's aggressions to Ardawán, who writes a letter of remonstrance.—Ardashír writes a circular letter to the kings, including Ardawán, who is furious [D. 44] and sends a second letter, to which also he receives no reply.—Ardashír conquers Shápúr and Isfahán, defeats and slays Ardawán in the plain of Bádarján [D. 44, Hurmuzdján] at the end of the month of Mihr [so D.], seizes Nabávand, and takes to wife a cousin of Ardawán [D. 45 makes her a niece of Ardawán's son Farrukhán, who is represented in this account as the last Parthian king; Ṭ. 27 merely describes her as of the family of Ashak, i.e. one of the Arsucides], not knowing that she belongs to the family

of his dead foe. This leads up to the well-known story of Abarsám [here described as *ابن الهودان* : cf. T. 9 and n. 1 ; 27, n. 2] and the birth, concealment, and recognition of Shápúr [here, as in T. 28, Sháh-puhar, *شاه بهرو ترجمته* . . *ابن الملك*], from which, however, it is separated by an account of Ardashír's further conquests of Ahwáz, Hamadán, Qum, Ray, Dashnî, Merv, Adharbayján, and Armenia ; his defeat of the seventeen allied kings under Mihrak, the son of Fádhan, King of Babylon, Khutarniya, and Súrâ, and his son Shádh-mihr [cf. T. 11 and n. 2, and 43 seqq.] ; his assumption of the title *Sháhânsháh* [D. 45, l. 17] ; and his restoration of al-Madá'in (originally built by *زاب بن يودكان بن منشهر*).

So far the narrative contains hardly any new elements ; what remains (ff. 93b—101b) is of a less familiar and more legendary character. It is related that Christ (placed by a gross anachronism in this period, although previously mentioned in the Parthian time) sent one of his disciples to Ardashír [D. 46], who was well received by his Minister on the recommendation of his son. Ardashír's favourite horse falls sick and dies, but is restored to life by this disciple in his Master's name, whereupon Ardashír, his son Shápúr, and his Minister embrace the Christian religion [cf. D. 85], and endeavour to persuade the Persian nobles to do the same. In this attempt, however, Ardashír is unsuccessful, and is compelled thereafter to conceal his belief for fear of being deposed. The parallel which this legend offers to the healing of King Gushtâsp's favourite horse by Zoroaster is so obvious that we can hardly doubt that we have here one of those transferences noted by Nöldeke (*Das iranische Nationalepos*, pp. 3, 4, and note *ad calc.*).

The institutions of Ardashír are next discussed, viz. : how he organized the kingdom ; how he chose his knights (*اساوره*) ; how he chose his secretaries ; how he guarded his frontiers ; how he received ambassadors ; how he built cities ; how he dealt with the Noble Houses (*بيوتات الشرف*), the members

of which are the *Bár-bitán* of the Pahlaví inscriptions); how he caused the land to prosper; how he instituted the five classes or castes (of priests, warriors, scribes and poets, farmers, and merchants), causing each to wear a distinctive mark; and how he devised a means whereby all who thought themselves wronged could be sure of submitting to him personally their appeal. This last institution is described in exactly similar terms in the *Siyásat-náma* (ed. Schefer, p. 10; transl., pp. 12-13), which is interesting, as revealing a common source for both books which cannot be placed later than the eleventh century of our era.

Finally, we have the account of Ardashír's death after a reign of 40 years and 10 months (*sic!*); his dying injunctions to his son Shápúr, which include a prophecy of the fall of the dynasty after 600 years (*sic!*); and the names of the six cities founded by him, which, though corrupted in several cases, agree on the whole with D. 47, and less closely with the eight cities in T. 19-20.

2. *Shápúr I* (A.D. 241-272: N. 102b-104a; D. 48-49).

The accounts of this reign are scanty in both N. and D., but the agreement is close. N., after its usual fashion, gives the speech made by Shápúr on his accession. The story of the building of Bel-ábád [Beth Lápát: see T. 40-41], omitted by D., is here given. The name of Valerianus [T. 32 and n. 3 *ad calc.*] here occurs as البرنانوس, البرنانوش [D. 48] is here called قالونييه, as in the L. and P. MSS. of D. Appearance of Manes [= D. 49, T. 40]. Shápúr dies after a reign of thirty-one years [= D. 49, l. 5: cf. T. 42].

3. *Hurmuzd I* (A.D. 272-273: N. 105-106; D. 49).

Throne-speech.—Manes put to death [= D. 49].—Testamentary injunctions of Hurmuzd to his son.

- 4, 5, 6. *The three Bahráms* (A.D. 273–293 : N. 106–107 ; D. 49).

Bahrám III, called *Sagánsháh*, is ignored, as in D. 49 ; and the accounts of the others are meagre and inaccurate. Bahrám II is here stated to have conceived a dislike to the Zoroastrian religion because of the incestuous marriages sanctioned by it, and to have sent to India for Christian teachers. Seven missionaries are sent. He becomes a Christian, attempts to convert his people, is threatened with deposition, and conceals his faith (cf. Ardashír, p. 219, *supra*).

- 7, 8. *Nársi and Hurmuzd II* (A.D. 293–309 : N. 108*b* ; D. 49).

9. *Shápúr II Dhu'l-Aktáf* (A.D. 309–379 : N. 109–113, 118–120 ; D. 49–52).

The agreement with D. is very close, and includes the pre-natal coronation ; the Arab invasion of Persian territory in Shápúr's childhood ; his acuteness in the matter of the bridges ; his defeat and punishment of the Arabs ; his adventure with Mulayka, the daughter of Dayzan and Dukht-núsh [D. 50 دُكْتَنُوش], which incident really belongs to the reign of Shápúr I [T. 34–40] ; his war with Julian (here called بریانوس : cf. D. 51, note *d*) and peace with Jovian (here برسانوس : cf. D. 52, note *e*) ; and the cession of Nisíbin to the Persians and its colonization by 12,000 of them from Istakhr, to which N. adds "4,000 from Isfahán." The only additions in N. are Shápúr's title *Sháh-i-jahán* = *Rabbu'd-dunyá* (cf. p. 201, *supra*), a translation of a short harangue alleged to have been delivered by him to his people "in Persian" in the fifth year of his reign, and a few trivial amplifications of the Roman War. The narrative of his reign is followed by a long account of Jirjís the Christian saint, filled with miracles and marvels, and by the story of Judayma and Hind az-Zabbá, which

offers a remarkable parallel to the Zopyrus legend. This story is alluded to in D. 56 as well-known, but is not there given.

10, 11, 12. *Ardashir II, Shápúr III, Bahrá́m IV*
(A.D. 379-399 : N. 120-121 ; D. 53).

Of these three kings the first is entirely omitted both by N. and D., while the accounts of the others are very meagre. Except for the throne-speeches of each, and the substitution of twenty for thirteen years in the reign of the latter, N. is practically identical with D.

13, 14. *Yazdigird I, Bahrá́m V Gúr* (A.D. 399-438 :
N. 122b-129b ; D. 53-60).

The Persian original of Yazdigird's title *al-Athim* is given as *Baza-kun* (cf. p. 202, *supra*), and the usual throne-speech is ascribed to him. His faults are summed up as a fondness for conferring titles on unworthy persons, arrogance, contempt for learning and religion and systematic opposition to their professors, and extreme wilfulness. The birth of his son Bahrá́m Gúr is placed in the second year of his reign, on the day of Hurmuzd in the month of Farvardín. When Mundhir is summoned to receive and take charge of the child, Yazdigird confers on him a twofold promotion and the titles *Afzúd Khurrahi* and *Mastará Mastarán* (f. 123a) :

. . فكتب [يزدجرد] اليه [يعنى الى المنذر بن ماء السماء]
يا مراه بالقدم فلما قدم حباه بمرتبتين وسمى افزد خرهي معناه
ازداد كرامته ومرتبه اخرى سماه مسترا مستران معناه عظيم العظماء

[These titles are given by T. (pp. 86-87) as *Rám-arzúdh Yazdigird* and *Mahisht*.] The account of Bahrá́m's training is a little fuller than in D. He studies with three Persian and three Arabic tutors (D. 53 says "two" in each case)

for seven years, till he reaches the age of 12, when he devotes himself to horsemanship and archery. As he grows older he persuades Mundhir to give him four concubines and five of his best horses. One of the former named Ázádwár accompanies him to the chase, and he, at her request, to display his skill in archery, shoots at a gazelle which is scratching its ear and pins the ear to the foot, but afterwards discards Ázádwár because she has imposed on him such a test.—His skill as a hunter.—His encounter with a lion.—He visits his father Yazdigird at Ctesiphon, but wearies of his life there and returns to Mundhir.—Yazdigird is killed by the demon-horse [T. 77-78 and note] when he has reigned $21\frac{1}{2}$ years [= D. 57].

The proposal to exclude Bahrám from the throne and the setting up in his place of a descendant of Ardashír Bábakán stand in N. as in D., but the names of the conspirators are here omitted.—Bahrám, with Mundhir and a thousand Arabs, marches on Ctesiphon, and is joined by 12,000 men. The Persians, being alarmed, send a pious man named *Jawán-bih* [T. "*Juwánoé*"] to Bahrám, who proposes that he and his rival Ardashír shall decide their claims by the ordeal of the lion. This proposal is accepted, and Bahrám is victorious [T. 91-98: D. om.]. He is made king, pardons those who would have excluded him, and issues a proclamation.

The next incident is the war with the Kháqán of the Turks, which is told exactly as in D. 57-59 save in the following details. The Kháqán is at Qúmis when the Persians offer him submission and tribute, thinking that Bahrám has fled from his foe. Bahrám thereupon doubles back from Ádharbayján, whither he has gone, by Daylam and Tabaristán, to Qúmis, occupies a mountain near the Kháqán's encampment, and about dawn lets loose on the Turkish camp all the beasts and birds he has captured, as well as his dogs and falcons, so that the Turks, thinking themselves to be attacked by an immense host of at least a million men, flee in panic. Bahrám pursues them, kills the Kháqán, invades their country, delimits the frontier, and

builds a great tower on it, as in D. 59.—His proclamation of victory.—His generosity to his army and subjects.—He consults the astrologers as to how long he will reign. They tell him *si u bist*, i.e. 23 years (its actual duration), but he thinks they mean, not $3 + 20$ but 3×20 , i.e. 60 years (cf. p. 202, *supra*). His death in the quagmire at Dáy Marj (cf. p. 202, *supra*: D. 59–60; T. 103 and n. 3).

15, 16, 17. *Yazdigird II, Hurmuzd III, Píruz* (A.D. 438–484: N. 130b–135a; D. 60–62).

The account of the first of these kings is even shorter in N. than in D., his death only being mentioned in connection with the fratricidal struggle between his brothers. In the account of the flight of Píruz, Kábul takes the place of Şigháníyán (D. 60), the number of men given to him by the Kháqán is not specified (D. has “30,000”), and the condition is the cession of “Tálaqán, which is the country beyond Balkh,” instead of Tirmidh. Also Píruz, on his victory, kills his brother Hurmuzd, instead of “not punishing him” (D. 60). At this point comes in the story of Dhú Nuwás, the persecution of the people of Najrán, and the Abyssinian invasion, down to the death of Aryát at the hands of Abrahātu'l-Ashram [= D. 62–64]. The conversion of the people of Najrán is here ascribed to a disciple of Christ called نيمون, who by prayer overthrows a sacred tree which they have previously worshipped.¹ The account of the reign of Píruz, his death in the disastrous campaign against the Turk Akhshawán, and the release of his daughter Fíruzdukht and the *Múbadhán-múbadh* by Sukhrá [here called سوخرا ويد: D. شوخر; cf. T. 120, n. 3 *ad calc.*], agrees very closely with D.; but a third city founded by Píruz in Jurján (named فمر فيروز, not clear) is mentioned, and the city in Adharbayján is here called فادار فيروز instead of باد فيروز. Also, as usual, there is a throne-speech.

¹ By Ibn Hishám (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 20) he is called *Faymiyán*, فَيْمِيُون.

18. *Balásh* (A.D. 484-488 : N. 135b-142b ; D. 62).

Here, as already noted (pp. 200-201, *supra*), we have an important addition, viz. the Story of Balásh with the Indian Princess and the Groom's Daughter, published, with a Russian translation, by Baron Rosen in his contribution to the *Vostochniya Zamyétki*, pp. 153-165. As D. gives nothing about Balásh save the fact that he reigned four years, I here add a brief abstract of this portion of the *Niháyat*. Balásh's accession at the age of 20, and throne-speech.—His fondness for women. He hears of the beauty of *Harwala*, daughter of the King of India, and asks her in marriage.—Her father urges her to consent.—She relates the Story of the Owner of the Pearl, and refuses Balásh.—He invades India, kills the Indian king in single combat, and summons the Princess before him.—She relates to him the Story of the Diver and the Pearl.—He brings her back to Persia, houses her magnificently, obtains, after a while, her permission to visit her, and remains with her seven days.—His subsequent neglect.—She sends her nurse to ascertain its cause, and learns the ascendancy obtained over him by the Groom's Daughter.—The Princess makes friends with her, finds out how she has succeeded in winning and retaining the King's affection, induces him to visit her again, and succeeds in completely captivating him.—He consents to remain with her three days.—She relates to him on the first day the Story of the King and the Beautiful Tree.—Her discourse on the different kinds of beauty.—She relates to him the Story of the Lion, the Lioness, and the Hyaena.—On the third day a servant brings an insulting message to the Princess from the Groom's Daughter.—The King, moved by the Princess's tears, gives her the Groom's Daughter, whom she at once sends for.—The Groom's Daughter arrives, argues with the Princess, and remonstrates with the King and relates to him the Story of the Fox and the Birds.—The Princess retorts with the Story of the Crow and the Pigeon, which the Groom's Daughter meets with the Story of the Rat, the

Lark, and the حَدَاة.—Continuation of the discussion.—The Groom's Daughter poisons herself. [Cf. T. 134, n. 4 *ad calc.*; and the Vienna Oriental Journal for 1896, vol. x, pp. 323–326, where an abstract of this story is given by J. Kirste.]

19. *Qubádh I* (A.D. 488–531: N. 142*b*–145*b*; D. 62–69).

His accession at the age of 12 [D. 66, l. 10 has “15”].—Súkhra's regency.—D.'s “Sábúr of Ray, one of the sons of the Mihrán [cf. T. 439, n. 1 *ad calc.*] al-Akbar, governor of Bábil and Khuṭarniya,” is here called “Sábúr, son of Bahrám, one of the sons of Bahrám al-Akbar, *Ispahbadh* of Sawád” (Chaldaea).—He, at Qubádh's instigation, kills Súkhra and becomes Prime Minister, whence the Persians say: *خدمت نار سوخرا و هبت ريح سابور*, “*The Fire of Súkhra is extinguished, and the Wind of Sábúr blows*,” which remains a proverb till this day.—In the account of Mazdak, the heretic and communist, he is described as “from Nasa” (P of Fasá, near Shíráz: cf. T. 456) instead of “from Iṣṭakhr” [D. 67], and is said to have been supported by a Persian noble named *ورانس* بن *خرگان*—no doubt a corruption of *زراتشت بن خردگان*—*Zarátusht son of Khuragán* [cf. T. 456].—Qubádh only pretends to believe in Mazdak, but his pretence is taken for reality, and he is deposed in favour of his brother Jámásp and imprisoned.—His release and flight with Zarmihr, son of Súkhra, and four other companions; his marriage at a farm between Ahwáz and Isfahán with the mother of Núshírwán, and his further adventures, agree with D. 67 et seqq., but the incident of the gold-embroidered trousers [omitted by D., but mentioned in T. 136] occurs. The course of his further flight to the Kháqán is by Herát, Búshanj (فوسنج), and Gílán.—In the conditions laid down by the Kháqán, Tálaqán takes the place of Šigháníyán. Cf. p. 224, *supra*, s.v. Pírúz, where the same data (including the 30,000 men furnished by the Kháqán) occur in another connection.—Qubádh's conquests

in the land of Rúm, and the cities founded by him, are here given nearly as in D. 68, except that *A'mad-Qubádh* stands for *Abar-Qubádh*. Next follows in D. 69 the account of Núshírwán's character, and his one fault of being over-suspicious, for which his father takes him to task. In N. (144*b*–145*b*) this is amplified. This Prince's good qualities are first enumerated. His father sets a watch over him to ascertain more fully his character, that he may see whether he is fit for the succession. The qualities particularly regarded by the Persians as essential to a king were, wisdom, self-control when angered, truthfulness and loyalty, generosity, modesty, a cheerful demeanour, and unwillingness to think evil. Of these seven attributes, Núshírwán is defective only in the last.—Qubádh's counsels to Núshírwán.—The testament which he leaves to be opened and read to his son by the *Múbadhán-múbadh* (explained as = قاضى القضاة) after his death.—This is done.

20. *Khusraw I Núshírwán* (A.D. 531–578 : N. 146–167 ; D. 69–76).

After the reading of the testament above mentioned, Núshírwán makes the usual throne-speech. — He beheads Mazdak and his followers. — Divides Persia into four provinces, nearly as in D. 69, but here Kirmán is placed in the third instead of the first.—War with the Hayátíla. —Defeat of Súl.—The Khazars invade Armenia and Ádharbayján, but are defeated and almost exterminated.—Núshírwán builds a stone wall in Armenia to keep them out of his territories, and appoints one of his *Marzubáns* with 12,000 cavalry to guard it. To this Warden of the Marches is accorded the privilege of sitting on a throne of gold. "This," adds the author, "is the place which is called *Bábu'l-abwáb*, and the dominion of this *Marzubán* whom he set in this place as a guard remaineth unto his children until this day . . . and these are they who are called [by the title of] 'King of the Throne'" (*Maliku's-sarír*). — The portent of the jackals [= D. 76,

Ṭ. 250] is related nearly as in D., but the number of unjust governors put to death [90 in D.] is not here specified. At this point are inserted the portents heralding the Prophet Muḥammad's birth, the account of 'Abd Manáf, the oracle of the soothsayer Saṭīḥ [D. 56, Ṭ. 254 et seqq.], and the prophecies concerning Islám down to the overthrow of the Omayyads by the 'Abbásids. This is followed by an account of Hášhim and his dream, and of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. Then follows the account of the Abyssinian invasion of Arabia under Abrahātu'l-Ashram, the "People of the Elephant," and their miraculous destruction by the birds called *abábil*, in the usual form [D. 64].—Birth of the Prophet in the "Year of the Elephant," and in the twentieth year of Núshírwán's reign. Núshírwán dreams that eight battlements fall from his Palace, which is shaken by an earthquake.—In the morning he is informed by the chief of the Herbeds of the extinction of the Sacred Fire, and later he learns of the drying up of the Lake of Káshán.—His own interpreters of dreams being unable to interpret these signs, he sends to Nu'mán, who sends 'Abdu'l-Masīḥ, then over 300 years old, to the Persian court. He also is unable to explain these signs, but promises to go to Syria and consult the aged Saṭīḥ, whom he finds in his death-agony. Saṭīḥ's oracle [=Ṭ. 253–257] is here given more fully in the rhymed prose (*rajjaz*) portion, especially as regards the final clause:—

فَقُلْ لابن بابكان ' اذا ملك فيهم النسوان ' آزرمت دخت و
 بوران ' فايقتنوا بالهوان ' بابن عمرو بن حيان ' اذا كثرت [كثرة]
 الثلاثة ' وظهر صاحب الهراوة ' وفاض وادى السماوة ' ونصب
 بحيرة ساوة ' فليست الحيرة لك بدار ' ولا بهالك من قرار '
 وسيملك منهم ملوك وملكات ' بعدد الشرفات ' وكلما هو
 آت آت '

Story of Raqíqa, the daughter of Abú Şayfí, who was born on the same day as 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.—Next follows the Story of Sayf b. Dhú Yazan [= D. 65-66]. He appeals first to the Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople [D. "Antioch"] for help against the Abyssinians.—This the Emperor refuses, but offers him 10,000 dirhams, which, however, are declined. Sayf, introduced at the Persian Court by Nu'mán ibnu'l-Mundhir, next addresses the same petition to Núshírwán, adding to what is recorded by Ṭ. (220-227) the following appeal on the ground of race and colour:—

انتم احبب الينا منهم واقرب قرابة لان الوانكم على الواننا
واولئك مخالفون لالوانكم والواننا

[Cf. Ṭ. 222, l. 15.] The remainder of the narrative of the Persian conquest of Yaman by *Wahriz* [cf. Ṭ. 223 and n. 2 *ad calc.*], here called *Wahsan* (perhaps a popular etymology, *Wih-zan* = *Bih-zan*, "shooting well," in allusion to his lucky shot at Masrúq, the Abyssinian king), differs from Ṭabari's account only in the following particulars. The condemned prisoners sent as an army with Wahriz, the centenarian, and Dhú Yazan are raised in number from 800 to 3,600, and the ships in which they embark are reduced to seven. They are reinforced on their arrival by 20,000 Himyarites [Ṭ. 231, "100,000"]. Masrúq's army is placed at 30,000 men. To the account of the lucky shot of Wahriz at the ruby on Masrúq's forehead is added the passage concerning the choice of the arrow which I translated at pp. 52-53 of the J.R.A.S. for January, 1899. According to one of Nöldeke's notes [Ṭ. 226, n. 2], which I then overlooked, this also occurs in Ibn Qutayba's '*Uyūnu'l-Akhbār* (St. Petersburg MS.). The text of this passage runs as follows (f. 154a):—

فكانت العجم تكتب على نسيها ثلثة اسماء اسم الملك واسم
الرجل واسم المرأة فاخرج وهزن نشابة فنظر فيها فاذا عليها زنان

اسم النساء فتطير منها وردّها واخرج غيرها فاذا هي مثل الاول
عليها اسم المرأة فردّها واخرج ثالثة فكانت كذلك ففكر في نفسه
وقال زنّان انما تأويله زنّان وتفسيره اضرب ذاك فتفأل فيه
ذلك

The instructions given by Núshírwán to Wahriz on hearing of his victory omit D.'s clause about "killing all the blacks" [cf. T. 234], and add concerning Dhu Yazan "make him king, if he be of royal blood, but if not, behead him."—The verses of Omayya b. Abi's-Šalt [T. 234-6] are given.—Embassy from Quraysh to congratulate Sayf b. Dhú Yazan, whom they find at Ghumdán, the palace built by Bilqís the Queen of Sheba.—'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib acts as their spokesman.—Sayf foretells to him the mission of his grandson Muḥammad the Prophet.—After a reign of seven years, Sayf is assassinated by his Abyssinian guard [T. 236].—Wahriz is sent back to govern Yaman, which he rules for three years, till his death. The description of his shooting an arrow to determine the site of his grave [= D. 66, T. 263] appears to me to furnish a possible elucidation of part of the Pahlaví inscription of Shápúr I at Hájí-ábád, of which the published translations seem to the ordinary reader so unsatisfactory (cf. Haug's *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 64).¹ Did Shápúr also solemnly shoot his arrow "in the presence of the satraps, the dukes [of the seven noble houses], the magnates, and the nobles" with some similar purpose? The point seems to me to merit attention.

The Persian governors of Yaman who succeeded Wahriz [T. 237] are here ignored. Bádhán (called "the son of Khusrawán") is described as his immediate successor. The war with the Byzantines and its causes come next, agreeing closely with D. 70-71, but the Persian name of New Antioch

¹ The most satisfactory interpretation of this inscription with which I am acquainted is that given by Friedrich Müller in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* for 1892 (vol. vi, pp. 71-75).

(*ar-Rúmiyya*) is given as *بهازيد خسروا* instead of *زبر خسرو*, and the Christian governor *Yazd-Fana* [= *Yazd-* or *Isad-Panáh*, D. 71] is here called *برز قباده*, an easy graphical corruption. The Persian resident in Syria, *Sharwín* [D. 71], lacks his *nisba* (الدمستبات).

The next episode is the Revolt of Prince Anúsha-zád [T. 467-474; D. 71-72], which differs from D. only in the following particulars. Núshírwán falls ill at Amid (مدينة الأمديّة), not Hims. — On Anúsha-zád's escape from prison, he is said to have taken the other prisoners with him, and to have been gradually reinforced till he had 30,000 followers. — Núshírwán's instructions to the governor of Ctesiphon, addressed as the *Dabir-badh* ("Chief Scribe"), are given in full. His contemptuous estimate of the Christians, because they are commanded, if smitten on one cheek, to turn the other, is identical with D. 72.

Next follows the account of Núshírwán's new fiscal system [D. 72-73; T. 241-247] and military reforms [D. 74-75; T. 247-249]. The former he proposes in a speech (f. 158b), in which he invites discussion, but an unfortunate secretary who ventures an objection is handed over to his colleagues and killed by them with their pen-knives [T. 242-3, and n. 2 on latter]. — The Minister of War, Bábak (Pápak), is here called "the son of Bírúdhán" (ابن البيروذان? Pírúzán) instead of D.'s "*Nahrucán*" (D. 74) or T.'s "*Birucán*" (T. 247). — The platform erected for the king at the review is carpeted with *سوساجرد و نموطا*. The story is otherwise the same as in D.

The names of the cities founded by Núshírwán are evidently from the same source as D. 75, but the forms are slightly different in several cases, e.g. for *خسرو ماء* we find *خرما قباد*; for *رندورد*, *زندورد*; and for the well-known *جسر سابور*, *جندی سابور*.

Some personal traits and anecdotes of Núshírwán next succeed. His leniency to his personal servants is illustrated by an anecdote describing how one day, being about to receive a deputation, he ordered an attendant to bring him

his crown. The man had been drinking, and his hand shook so that he let the crown fall, and it broke at the King's feet, yet he suppressed his anger and forgave him. Another similar instance is given in his gentle reproof of some of his courtiers who listened to the reading of a secret dispatch by his private secretary (f. 161*a*).—His dislike of calumniators and traducers of other men, even when they spoke truly.—His preference for public punishments of delinquents, as likely to produce greater effect.—He bids his ministers intercede with him for criminals when his anger ran high, "for," said he, "I have heard from the doctors of our religion that the greatest reward is for such as show mercy to sinners."—His love of learning and philosophy, his tender care of his subjects, his disregard of gossip and slander, his wise and deliberate discharge of business, especially in perilous affairs, and his clemency in all cases where it was possible, are also enumerated amongst his virtues.

Here follow some further particulars about 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, the Persians in Yaman (الابناء), Bádhán the governor of that dependency, and the alleged Persian inscription found there (see pp. 202-3, *supra*). To these succeeds a long account (ff. 162*b*-166*b*) of Buzurjmīhr the son of Bakhtagán, Bih-Shápúr the chief priest (*Múbadhán-múbadh*), and Yazdigird the chief scribe, who, with seventy other wise men, were in constant attendance on the King.—How Buzurjmīhr first comes to the King's notice.—Specimens of his philosophical aphorisms and wise sayings, filling several pages (ff. 162*b*-166*b*).—Ten aphorisms apiece from the three wise men above mentioned.

Núshírwán is attacked by a mortal sickness when he has reigned forty-two years [D. 76 has "forty-eight," which is correct]. He summons his children and family, and addresses to them a long exhortation (ff. 166*b*-167*b*), with some additional words of counsel to his successor Hurmuzd.

21. *Hurmuzd IV* (A.D. 578-590: N. 167b-178a; D. 77-91).

The usual throne-speech is in this case given also in D. 77-80, and the two versions correspond very closely, as they do in the account of his character, and the anecdote of his severity towards his son and successor, Khusraw Parvîz, on account of a trespass which he had committed [T. 266]. This is followed by another similar anecdote. When he was riding out one day towards Sábât, in the season of the grapes, one of his knights plucked a bunch of the fruit from a garden wall by the road. He was seen by the custodian of the garden, who threatened to report him to the King; and at this threat he was so terrified that he gave up his belt, of gold and silver ornamented with precious stones, to secure the man's silence [T. 267].—His reply to the Herbeds who wished him to persecute the Christians [T. 268].—The number of nobles and men of position whom he put to death for oppression of the poor is here given as 3,000 instead of the 13,600 of T. 268.

We now come to the troubles of the eleventh year of his reign, and the beginning of the long episode of Bahrám Chúbín [D. 81-104: T. 270-239 and 474-478, where Nöldeke makes special mention of the *Niháyat* in this connection]. The Turkish invading army is here stated to have consisted of 300,000 men [so T. 269], and to have advanced to Balkh [D. Herát; T. Herát and Bádghís]. The Byzantine army is reckoned at 100,000 men [T. 80,000]. Armenia is also attacked by the Khazars, and Fárs [T. 270, Sawád] by the Arabs.

Concerning the appointment of Bahrám Chúbín to lead the army against the Turks, N. adds the following additional particulars. After pacifying the Byzantines and driving off the Khazars, King Hurmuzd holds a council of war, where many conflicting opinions are advanced. Finally a Marzabán named Anúsha-ján (انوشجان) advises that his aged father *Mîhr-bustán* (مهرستان), who is an expert in

Turkish politics, shall be summoned. This is done, and the old man relates in substance what follows. "O King, thy father Kísrá (Núshírwán) sent me with fifty attendants to the Kháqán, the King of the Turks, with a letter demanding one of his daughters in marriage, and commissioned me to select the daughter whom I deemed most suitable. He received us hospitably, and on the third day summoned me before him to see his daughters, the Khátún, his queen, being also present. Now such of his daughters as were of humble origin on the mother's side were splendidly dressed and ornamented, but his daughter by the Queen was unadorned. But I detected their intention to mislead me in my choice, and chose her who was unadorned, and persisted in this, despite their endeavours to induce me to choose another. Then the Kháqán sent for one of his soothsayers named Kundugh (عتراف له تركتی كندغ) and asked him his opinion. 'My opinion,' said he, 'is that thou shouldest give her in marriage to him, for she will hold a position of high honour, and will bear him a son of such-and-such attributes [set forth in detail] who will reign after his father, and whose glory shall be great.' And thou, O King, art he! Then the soothsayer continued: 'And there shall march against him from our country a king at the head of a vast host, who shall penetrate to the confines of his land; and the son of this girl shall send against him one of his captains with such-and-such attributes [set forth in detail], who will march against the king of our people and slay him and despoil his army. But the son of the king who was slain shall march out against him, and fight with him again, and scatter his host, and take him captive, and send him to the son of this girl.' So when the soothsayer had thus spoken, the King consented to my choice, and equipped his daughter and sent her with me; and she, O King, is thy mother!"

When King Hurmuzd had heard this narrative, he enquired of his courtiers, nobles, and captains whether they knew of any man possessing the attributes ascribed to the

captain mentioned by the soothsayer. Then arose Yazdán-Farrúkh, the son of Abarkán (یزدان فروخ بن ابركان), and said, "O King, these are the attributes of Bahrám, the son of Bahrám, thy warden of the marches of Armenia, who is entitled Chúbín."

Thereupon the King summoned Bahrám Chúbín, received him in private audience, and told him the soothsayer's prediction. Bahrám replied: "O King, I am a servant amongst thy servants and a sword amongst thy swords, wherefore let the King send me against him . . . and he shall find in me such strenuousness and such wisdom in counsel as the best which he hopeth of me, and such hurtfulness to the King's enemies as he hath been led to expect from me, so that I will utterly destroy them, and will accomplish my utmost endeavour in respect to them." The King was delighted with Bahrám, conferred on him the chief command, and gave him full choice of equipment. He chose 12,000 men, all over 50 [D. 82, "40"] years of age, and made Bahrám, the son of Siyáwushán, the Captain of his Guard; Yazdán-Farrúkh (here called Ádhán-Farrúkh), the son of Abarkán, the Master of his Horse; Mardán-shína, of Rawandasht, the Commander-in-Chief; Bundád-Gushnasp, son of Jalhán [بنداد جسنس بن الجلهان], of Ray, the Head of his Intelligence Department; and another Bundád [بنداد میدن بن دашتان شاه], Captain of the Vanguard. The King expresses his surprise at the force being so small comparatively, and composed of such elderly men. Bahrám answers, citing several instances of armies of exactly this size obtaining great victories [D. 82], and explains his reason for choosing old instead of young men.

Now when Bahrám rode forth from the capital at a time fixed as fortunate by the astrologers, the King ordered the chief of those skilled in omens to go forth with him to see what omen would present itself. So Bahrám marched out with his 1,500 men, and outside the gate there met him a naked man carrying a basket containing sheep's heads and

trotters; and Bahrám picked out two of these heads with his spear and raised them aloft on his lance that all men might see, but one of them fell back into the basket. So the soothsayer went back and reported this to the King, interpreting it thus: "The two heads of which one remained impaled on the spear and one fell back into the basket are two foes, of whom he will kill one, but will set the other free after he has taken him captive. And the naked man signifies that Bahrám will cast off his allegiance to thee and will depose thee." So when the King heard this, he was troubled, and lay awake all that night, and next day consulted the *Múbadhán-múbadh*, who further discouraged the King, so that he sent a letter after Bahrám bidding him return alone to receive a verbal communication. But Bahrám excused himself and continued on his way, and the King let him go.

When Bahrám reached Ahwáz, an old woman complained to him that one of his troopers had stolen from her a basket of figs. So Bahrám caused the trooper to be beheaded and his body crucified. He then advanced to Herát, whence he turned aside into Gílán (!) and proceeded by forced marches to Balkh, where the Turkish Kháqán [here called *Sháhánsháh*: so D. 81, l. 11] was encamped. The account of the diplomacy by which Hurmuzd Khurrá - ba - zín [D. (text) 83: *هرمزد جرابزین*]¹ kept the Kháqán inactive, until, on Bahrám's approach, he was able to join him, stands here as in D.; but the fight between the Persians under Bahrám and the Turks under their King, as well as the preliminary operations, is here described with many details there wanting. These include Bahrám's harangue to his troops; his placing fifty men in the rear of his army to slay any deserters; and the employment by the Turks in the battle of lions, elephants, and burning naphtha. The fight ends, as in D. 84, with the death of the Kháqán at Bahrám's hands. Bahrám Siyáwushán is the only man

¹ The form *Juráb-zín* appears to be correct. Cf. Nöldeke's *Sasaniden*, p. 289, n. 1 *ad calc.*

missed on the Persian side, and he presently returns bringing a Turkish prisoner, who turns out to be the soothsayer consulted by the late Kháqán. He is beheaded by Bahrám.

The attempt of the Kháqán's son, Yertagin or Yeltekin [here يرتعین for يرتغین : cf. D. 84, T. 272 and n. 2], to avenge his father's death is given much as in D., but with details of the fighting and capitulation there omitted. He is sent a prisoner to King Hurmuzd with 7,000 of his followers, escorted by Mardán-shína of Rawan-dasht and 3,000 Persian troops. After a month's captivity at the Persian capital they are restored to liberty, and the King proceeds to examine the spoils of war sent to him by Bahrám Chúbín, against whom [as in D. 85] his suspicions are aroused by the remark of Yazdán-Gushnasp, "How ample was the table whence came this morsel!"

The King's insulting message to Bahrám Chúbín, the anger of his companions at such ingratitude, their citation of the proverb "Ardashír is no king and Abarsám [D. 85, "Yazdán"] is no minister" (explained in D., but not here), and the manner in which Bahrám is goaded into rebellion, are described as in D., but rather more fully, and with the following additional incidents. Bahrám goes forth to hunt with Mardán-shína, Yazdán-Gushnasp, Hurmuzd Khurrá-ba-zín, and Yazdak [lower, "Mazdak"] the scribe. While pursuing a wild ass they lose their way in a wood, and come at last to a castle, where they seek hospitality. The others are entertained with food and drink while Bahrám enters. As he is slow to return, Mardán-shína goes to look for him, and finds him conversing with a very beautiful damsel, who is giving him advice on some subject which Mardán-shína cannot understand. On seeing him, the girl bids him go out again and await his master. When these two eventually come out, and the girl bids Bahrám God-speed, his companions refrain from questioning him; but that night Khurrá-ba-zín and Mazdak the scribe leave Bahrám, flee to Madá'in, and inform King Hurmuzd of Bahrám's revolt, and of the girl, whom the *Múbadhán-múbadh* declares to be a fairy (جنتیة تسمى المذهب) and

the cause of Bahrám's disobedience. Bahrám sends the King 12,000 knives, of which the points have been bent up; and the King, interpreting this as meaning that he and his 12,000 men have turned aside from their allegiance, answers him by sending them back with the points broken off.

The means adopted by Bahrám Chúbín to arouse King Hurmuzd's suspicions against the loyalty of his son Parvíz; the arrest of that Prince's uncles, Bistám and Bindú'é (here called "the sons of *خريندادويه*"); the Prince's flight to Adharbayján; the King's attempt to conciliate Bahrám; and the murder of Yazdán-Gushnasp (whose name sometimes occurs as *يزدانشيس*) at the hands of his cousin, agree closely with D.; but Yazdán-Gushnasp's suspicions against his cousin are stated to have been evoked by a wise woman whom he consulted at Hamadán as to the danger which he incurred by meeting Bahrám. While he was talking with her, his cousin, whose release from prison he had asked of the King, happened to enter; and the wise woman on seeing him immediately exclaimed, "What wouldst thou with all this questioning? For behold, thy fate is at the hands of him who approacheth!" He believed her the more readily because astrologers had foretold at his birth that he would meet his death at the hands of a kinsman, and so resolved on the underhand device for compassing his cousin's death which cost him his own life.

The narrative now follows D. very closely as far as the escape of Parvíz into Byzantine territory. The encounter between Parvíz and the latter is here placed, however, at Jalúlá instead of Nahruwán; the names of three of those who remained faithful to Parvíz are here omitted; and the parley between the two parties is reported more fully, as well as the Prince's consultation with his deposed and imprisoned father. For comparison the following passage (f. 178a, ll. 20-27), which differs more than usual from D. (92, ll. 1-8), is given:—

قال له كسرى ان انت خلصتنا كفاك بذلك اجراً و ذخراً وان
سلمت كفاك به شرفاً في الدنيا والآخرة قد خاطر ارسى اياس
بنفسه منوشهر الملك حتى توسط اصحابه فرمى فقتله فعظم بذلك
قدره وسنا ذكره وقد خاطر رستم بنفسه بسبب قيقاوس حتى اسرته
السودان فاتخلصه من ايديهم فسلم ارسى فعظم ذكره في الناس وقد
خاطر المنذر بن ماء السماء بنفسه في طلب رد الملك الى جدنا
بهرام جور وجعل نفسه غرضاً ووقايةً فنال حظاً عظيماً وعظم
قدره وقدر عقبه الى اليوم ' قال بندويه الخ

On arriving at Raqqa [D. 95, Yarmúk], in Byzantine territory, under the guidance of an Arab of the tribe of Tayy, Parvîz and his nine remaining companions rest three days, and then push on through Syria. On the way Parvîz holds a conversation with a monk, who tells him that the Byzantine Emperor will bestow on him in marriage his daughter Maryam and send his son Theodosius [ثيادوس] with 70,000 men to subdue the rebels, which will be effected in seventeen months and eighteen days; and that Parvîz will rule for thirty-eight years. All this he professes to have discovered from an apocalypse of Daniel in his possession. Parvîz then enquires as to his successor, and the monk answers:—

يملك ابنك شيرويه اشهرأ يسيرة ثم يموت ثم يملك ابنتان
لك قليلة ثم يملك بعدهما ابن لبعض ولدك ثم يخرج الملك
عنه الى أمته من ولد اسمعيل بن ابراهيم صلى الله عليه يسكنون
البادى طعامهم الثمر واللحم وشرابهم اللبن فيبقى الملك فينم
الى يوم الدين '

The monk makes further predictions, and adds that Bistám will rebel against Parvîz, whereupon the latter exacts from the former an oath that he will not do so.

On arriving at Antioch, Parvîz sends five of his comrades, viz., Hurmuzd Khurrâ-ba-zîn, Bistâm, Shâpûr Abarkân, Yazdak the scribe, and another, as an embassy to the Emperor at Constantinople, with a letter of which the text is given. The Emperor receives them, promises his help, and dismisses them much comforted.

The next considerable addition to D.'s narrative (pp.96-99) occurs after the flight of Bahrâm Chûbîn across the Oxus to seek the Khâqân's protection. The Byzantine Emperor sends a congratulatory message to Parvîz, and a gift of gold and silver vessels and robes embroidered with crosses. These last are a source of great embarrassment to the Persian King, who fears that if he wears them he may be regarded by his people as an apostate from the Zoroastrian religion. Finally, at the advice of the *Mûbadhân-mûbadh*, he decides to wear them for a single day to show his gratitude to the Emperor, and then to discard them. Clad in these robes, and accompanied by Theodosius, he enters the banqueting-hall. Some of his followers murmur at seeing him thus apparelled, saying, "He hath forsaken the Magian religion and become a Christian." Parvîz, hearing this, wished to show that it was not as they supposed, so he, accompanied by Theodosius, approached the murmurers, . . . [Here something is omitted: apparently Parvîz took some food or drink forbidden to Christians from one of his followers, and offered it to Theodosius, who] refused to touch it, out of respect for the garments ornamented with crosses which he wore, but took it from Parvîz and handed it back to the "murmurer" (*muzamsim*). Thereat Bindû'é was angered and struck Theodosius, whereupon, notwithstanding the intervention of Bistâm, a serious quarrel arose, and the Greek Prince demanded of Kistrâ either the surrender of Bindû'é, that he might be beheaded, or a duel between the Greeks and Persians. Parvîz, greatly embarrassed, consults his wife Maryam, who advises him to send Bindû'é to her brother Theodosius and trust to his forgiving disposition. This is done, Bindû'é is forgiven, and peace is restored. Parvîz then bids Yazdak the scribe record the names of

all his Byzantine allies, amongst whom he then distributes 2,500 purses, containing each ten thousand dirhams, and a thousand *qinṭárs* of gold, each consisting of forty *mithqáls*; besides which he sends magnificent gifts to the Emperor, Theodosius, and the *hazármards* [explained on f. 182a: *الهزارمردین ممتن كان الرجل منهم يعد بالف رجل*]. The Byzantines then return home, while Parvís proceeds to his capital Madá'in, makes Bindú'é his prime minister, Bistám governor of Khurásán, Sistán, Tabaristán, Jurján, etc., and divides Persia into thirty-five administrative departments [cf. D. 102].

22. *Khusraw Parvís* (A.D. 590-627: N. 178a-212b; D. 91-115).

The story now reverts to Bahrám Chúbín, his reception by the Turkish Kháqán, and his duel with the rebellious and arrogant brother of the latter, here called *Yaghzún* [يغزون, in one place يغزن; D. بغاوير *Boghawir*]. At this point the following incident, lacking in D., is introduced (f. 187). One day when Bahrám is talking with the Kháqán, the wife of the latter, the Turkish Khátún, enters, and asks his help in recovering her daughter, who had been carried off by an ape to a cave in the mountains, whence it has hitherto been impossible to rescue her, because the ape hurls down stones on all who approach, and, if they would shoot at it, holds the girl before it as a target. Bahrám goes to her rescue, and, when the ape shields itself behind the girl, bids her lift her arm a little, and, through the space thus left, mortally wounds the ape with an arrow, rescues her, and hands her over uninjured to her mother. By this achievement his influence and power are still further increased.

The account of Bahrám Chúbín's assassination, and the exodus of his comrades, led by his brother Mardán-shína and his brave and beautiful sister Gurdiya, from the land of the Turks to Daylam, agrees closely with D., but is

somewhat fuller in the particulars of his death, his dying injunctions, and his funeral, and adds that the Turkish slave who assassinated him was put to death with seventeen others. Khusraw Parvîz is delighted on learning that his powerful opponent is no more, and the day of Bahrâm Chûbîn's death is thereafter observed in Persia as a festival until the fall of the Sásanian dynasty. The Khâqân, on the other hand, does all in his power to show his grief and to make amends to Bahrâm's followers, to whom he offers the alternatives either of remaining with him as honoured and protected guests, or of returning, duly guarded and guided, to their own country. Disgusted with Turkish treachery, they choose the latter course, and are accordingly suffered to depart, loaded with presents, under a guard of a thousand men, who are to conduct them safely to the frontier. Now the Khâqân had a brother named Barnagh [برنج or برنج; T. 289, *Natrâ* (?)] who loved the beautiful Gurdiya, whose hand he had sought in vain during her brother's lifetime. He now attempts to take her by force, but she, armed with her brother's arms and mounted on his horse, charges him with her spear and slays him. Barnagh's followers desire to kill her in revenge, but the Khâqân, hearing of what has happened, has them seized and beheaded, and the Persians depart in peace, reach Daylam, conclude a treaty with the inhabitants, and settle there.

We now come to that part of the narrative which deals with the execution of Bindú'é by Parvîz, the revolt of Bistâm (cf. T., pp. 478-487, "Empörung des Bistâm"), his campaign against Parvîz, his assassination by his wife Gurdiya, the sister of Bahrâm Chûbîn, at the instigation of the King, and Gurdiya's marriage with the latter. This portion differs very little from D. (pp. 105-110). For زده سوار [D. 105] N. has زده استوار. When Parvîz sends off a reassuring letter to persuade Bistâm to come to him, he writes also to Shâpûr, the son of Abarkân, governor of Ray, ordering him to seize and behead Bistâm on his arrival, and send the head to him. Bistâm receives the

King's summons at Merv (مرو الشاهجان), and Mardán-bih's warning at Qúmís. On hearing of Bindú'é's death he faints, but is presently restored by the cold water dashed over him by his comrades. The check of the King's generals at Hamadán is here described as a defeat, the reinforcements brought by the King are numbered at 200,000 instead of 50,000 [D. 108] men, and their halt is placed at Máhín instead of Qalúş, while the ensuing battle at Hamadán, whither they advance by Sharáhín (رستاق شراهين), is said to have lasted not three but two days. Gurdí is described as the brother, not the nephew, of Bahrám Chúbín, and the name of his wife, by whose means he forwards the King's letter to Gurdiya, is given as Ariya (ارجيه). Qazwín is here described as being built, not merely garrisoned [D. 110], by Parvíz.

At this point [=D. 110, l. 13] comes another considerable insertion. First, the King's marriage with Gurdiya, and the extraordinary honours and favours lavished by him upon her and Gurdí (who is made Governor of Fárs), are described. Then a conversation between Parvíz and Gurdiya is reported, in which the King enquires of her how she succeeded in slaying the Kháqán's brother Barnagh (here called برتغ). She describes this achievement, and then exhibits to the King her skill in military exercises and in the game of polo. The King's wife, Shírín, cautions him against Gurdiya, "this she-devil." Then follow some particulars about Shírín, and an anecdote relating how she humbles the misogynist *Múbalthan-múbudh*, which I give in the original (ff. 193-194):—

قالوا ولما استدفع الامر لكسرى بن هرمزد سمته العجم ابرويز يقولون
 فرور من بهرام جوبين الى قيصر ملك الروم وبنى قصر شيرين
 لزوجته وهو الذى امر بحفر شبديز و امر بظورته فصور فيه و صورة
 شيرين امراته و صورة خواص اصحابه و تلك الصورة قائمة الى الآن
 [f. 193^b] ثم ضبط المملكة و اجرى الامور مجاريها و اخضع رجلا من

اهل بيت الموبذانية من ذوى العقول والورع في دينه فجعله موبذاناً له وهو قاضى القضاة وصاحب المشورة وقد كان ذلك الموبذان طعن في السنّ وضعف عن مباشرة النساء فقام بامر الموبذانية ووجد عنده كسرى رأياً كاملاً أصيلاً نفوذاً اليه التدبير و ختته بالمشورة فكان يشير عليه بما فيه الصواب والنجح وكان أول من يدخل على كسرى بغير حجاب ولا اذن فيقول له عند دخوله اليه عشت ايها الملك بسعادة المجد (?) ورزقت على اعدائك الظفر واعطيت السرور وجنبت طاعة النساء ثم يومى بالجلوس فغاض ذلك شيرين امرأة كسرى وكانت من اجمل اهل عصرها جمالاً وافرهم عقلاً ورأياً فقالت ذات يوم لكسرى ايها الملك انّ هذا الموبذان قد طعن في السنّ وضعف ولست مستغنياً عن رأيه وحسن مشورته وانما يُشَبّ المشايخ النساء ببرهن ومضاجعتهم ولطفهن وقد رأيت لحاجتك اليه ان اهب له جاريتى مشكدانه فقد عرفت ايها الملك عقلها وجمالها وحسن حديثها فان رأيت ان تسأله قبولها متى فعلت ' فكلم كسرى موبذانه في ذلك فهش الموبذان للجارية لمعرفته بجمالها وما ظهر له من عقلها فقال ايها الملك قد قبلت من شيرين تفصلها واشارها ايأى بافضل جوارينا واحبهن اليها ' فقالت شيرين لمشكدانه انى اريد ان تأتى هذا الشيخ فتلفى له بمحاسنك وتحسن خدمته فاذا هش لمضاجعتك ما متعنى (متنعى MS) عنه حتى توكفيه وتركبيه فلا يعود ان يزيد في تحية الملك هذه الكلمة ان يقول له وقيت طاعة النساء ' قالت لها مشكدانه افعل ذلك يا مولاتى واعلمك ذلك في الوقت الذى

افعل به ، فمشت الجارية الى الشيخ الموبدان فصارت معه في داره
أتى يسكنها من قصر الملك فجعلت تحذنه وتبره و تظهر اكرامه
وهي مع ذلك تبرز محاسنها و تكشف له عن صدرها ومحرها
و تبدى له عن ساقها و فخذها فارتاح لها الموبدان و احبها فانشرح
صدره لمضاجعتها فجعلت تمتنع عليه فيزداد بذلك حرصاً عليها
فلما التح عليها بالمرادة قالت ايها القاضي ما انا بمجيبك الى ما
تشاء ابدأ حتى اوكلت فان اجبتني الى ذلك صرت طوع يدك
فيما يدعو الى مسرتك فامتنع عليها اياماً وهي في ذلك تبره له
و تستزين له و تكشف عن محاسنها حتى عيل صبره فقال لها افعل
ما احببت ثم صيرى الى طاعتي فيما اريد من المباحة فبهيات له
بردة صغيرة و اكافاً صغيراً و حزاماً و ثفراً فاقامته عرباناً على اربع
و وضعت على ظهره [f. 194^a] البردة و الاكاف و هي تقول في ذلك
مثل ما يقال للحمار ثم حزمته و صيرت الشفر تحت حصيته
و مذاكيره و قد ارسلت الى شيرين تعلمها ذلك فقالت شيرين
لكسرى ايها الملك اصعد بنا الى ظهر بيت الموبدان لننظر من الكوة
ما يكون بينه و بين الجارية فصعدا و نظرا فاذا الجارية قد ركبت فوق
الاكاف فناده كسرى فقال اي شئ هذا فقال هذا ما كنت اقول في
اجتناب طاعة النساء فاستضحك كسرى من ذلك فلم يكن بعد
ذلك اذا حيا الملك لا يقول في تحيته و جنبت طاعة النساء ،

We now come to the Battle of Dhú Qár and the incidents connected with it (ff. 194a-205a), omitted by Dīnawarī, but given by Ṭabarī (Ṭ. 303-345). They are here arranged under the reign of an-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir, and begin

with an account of 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī [T. 312 and n. 2], King Parvīz's interpreter and secretary, who, like his father and grandfather, "was skilled in both the Arabic and the Persian languages, and could write both writings." On the death of al-Mundhir, his son Nu'mān is chosen king from amongst his seventeen brethren by reason of his comeliness and cleverness, which are accounted for by his being of Persian extraction on his mother's side. Now about this time Khusraw Parvīz, wishing to buy some Arab horses, sent an Arab called Ḥājib to the fair of 'Ukadḥ to buy them, keeping his bow as security for the sum of one million dirhams entrusted to him, in kind or in specie, for the purchase. On his return with the horses he receives his bow, and, in addition, a rich reward from Parvīz. About the same time Nu'mān visits the Persian Court, and finds there embassies from China, India, and the Turks, as well as the brother of the Byzantine Emperor. These fall to discussing the respective merits of their different nationalities. Parvīz speaks slightly of the Arabs, whom he describes as poor, half-starved wretches. Nu'mān answers with warmth, and pronounces an eloquent encomium on their virtues (f. 196b). Parvīz acknowledges its truth, confers honours on Nu'mān, and sends him back to Ḥīra. On his return there, Nu'mān summons ten chiefs of the Arabs, tells them of this discussion, and bids them go to al-Madā'in and display their wisdom and eloquence before Khusraw Parvīz. Accordingly these ten, to wit, Aktham b. Ṣayfī of Tamīm, Ḥājib b. Zurāra, Khālid b. Ja'far al-'Amirī, 'Alqama b. 'Alāta al-'Amirī of Quraysh, al-Ḥārith b. 'Abbād al-Bakrī, 'Amr b. Ma'dī-Karib az-Zubaydī, al-Ḥārith b. Dhālim, 'Amir b. aṭ-Ṭufayl al-Mazanī, Qays b. Mas'ūd, and 'Amr b. Sadūs, go before Parvīz, and so impress him with their courage, decision, boldness, wisdom, and eloquence, that the Persian king exclaims, "Never did the Arabs fear me so much as I fear them to-day!" The *Mubadh* then warns him that in the time of his grandson the dominion will pass from the Persians to the Arabs; "and," adds he, pointing to Yazdigird, the son of Shahriyār,

the son of Khusraw Parvîz, "if I am not mistaken, from the hands of this boy," to which the King replies, "Well, so that it be after my time, I care not how it shall be." He then sends off the Arab envoys with a gift of 1,000 dirhams apiece, and a letter to Nu'mán, bidding each tribe choose for itself a king. Nu'mán convenes them at Khawarnaq and communicates to them the substance of this letter, whereupon the tribes choose as follows: *Himyar* chooses 'Amr b. al-Hārith b. Sayf b. Dhī Yazan; *Kinda*, Qays b. Ma'dī-Karib; *Ghassān*, Sahl b. Malik b. Shimr; *Taym*, Hājib b. Zurāra; *Qays*, al-Aḥwaṣ b. Ja'far b. Kilāb al-'Āmirī; *Fizāra*, Khārija b. Ḥiṣn b. Hudhayfa; and *Rabī'a*, Qays b. Mas'ūd. These seven Nu'mán equips and sends to Khusraw, who crowns them and makes them kings over their respective tribes.

The causes which led to the battle of Dhú Qár began with the murder of the above-mentioned 'Adī b. Zayd by Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir. His father Zayd had been sent by Qábús b. Nu'mán (called *Ibn Mā'i's-samā*) as an ambassador to Hurmuzd, who was so pleased with him that he detained him as his secretary and interpreter. This Zayd died soon after the accession of Khusraw Parvîz, who appointed his son 'Adī to fill his place. Now between the family of 'Adī b. Zayd and the Banú Nufayla (to which belonged the aged 'Abdu'l-Masīḥ, said to have been 350 years old at this time!) there was an ancient feud, in consequence of which one of the latter informed Nu'mán that 'Adī had boasted that he, by his influence with the Persian King, had obtained for Nu'mán the kingdom of Híra, a statement which greatly enraged him. It was 'Adī's custom to spend three months every year with his family at Híra; and, on the occasion of this visit, the Nufaylī, by means of a forged letter, so increased Nu'mán's anger that he cast him into prison. 'Adī thereupon wrote to his brother Ubayy, who was in high favour at the Persian Court, informing him of his imprisonment. Ubayy made the matter known to Khusraw Parvîz, who at once sent a messenger to Nu'mán, bidding him release 'Adī and

send him at once to Madá'in. The messenger, on reaching Híra, first visited 'Adí in prison and informed him of his commission. 'Adí begged him not to leave him, lest he should be put to death by Nu'mán, which, in fact, actually happens so soon as the messenger has departed.

Meanwhile the messenger presents the Persian King's letter to Nu'mán, who bids him take 'Adí out of prison; but on arriving at the prison he finds 'Adí strangled. Nu'mán then gives him a thousand dínars to induce him to put a good complexion on the matter in his report to Khusraw Parvíz, who, however, learns the truth from the son of the murdered man, who succeeds in effecting his escape. This son is called Zayd, like his grandfather, and inherits the highest skill of his father and grandfather (f. 202a):—

وكان زيد وابوه وجده زيد ابو عدت ماهرين باللسانين العربية
والفارسية ويكتب الخطين

He tells Khusraw Parvíz of the beauty of Nu'mán's daughter Hurayqa, his sister Su'da, and his cousin Lubáb. The King thereupon orders him to write to Nu'mán bidding him send these women to the Persian Court. Nu'mán, on receiving this letter, exclaims:—

أما في عين السواد وفارس ما يغنى الملك عن نساء العرب
السود اللون الحمش السوق

Zayd purposely mistranslates عين ("wild cattle," بقر الوحش, according to N., but rather, as Nöldeke translates, "the large-eyed ones," T. 328–329) as بقر, "cows," to the Persian royal eunuch who accompanies him. When this reply is reported to Khusraw Parvíz he is greatly angered against Nu'mán, confers the government of Híra on his former ally Ayás b. Qabísa, and commands that Nu'mán shall be brought to him in chains. Nu'mán, forewarned of this, flees from Híra, leaving his female relatives and property

under the care of Hání b. Mas'úd al-Muzdalif ash-Shaybání, and endeavours to stir up the Arab tribes to revolt against the Persian King. Meeting with but little success in this endeavour, he goes to Madá'in, surrenders himself to Khusraw Parvîz, and assures the Persian King that his expression was misinterpreted by Zayd. Parvîz, however, rejects his excuses, and orders him to be trampled to death by elephants. The beautiful Hurayqa (or حُرَيْقَة, or خُرَيْفَة) embraces the Christian religion after her father's death, and becomes a nun at Dayr Hind.

The Persian King, having slain Nu'mán in this manner, sends a message to Ayás b. Qabísa bidding him send his children, servants, and possessions to Madá'in. Hání al-Muzdalif, however, to whose care they had been entrusted by Nu'mán, refuses to give them up. Khusraw Parvîz, on hearing this, bids Ayás attack the tribe of Bakr b. Wá'il, and sends 12,000 troops under Hámarz and the same number under Hormuzd Khurrá-ba-zín, besides another force under Qays b. Mas'úd, Warden of the Marches of Chaldea, to extirpate the tribe, who are encamped at a place called Dhú Qár, five stages out from Madína on the Baṣra road. This was in the year A.H. 1, just after the arrival of the Prophet Muḥammad at Madína, and Bakr b. Wá'il, though not yet professing belief in the Prophet, recited poems in his praise and invoked his name to their assistance.

We now come to the actual battle of Dhú Qár, whereof the Prophet said (f. 205a):—

اليوم أول يوم انتصفت فيه العرب من العجم و بى نصرنا
باسمه حين جعلوا اشعارهم يا محمد

"To-day is the first day whereon the Arabs held their own against the Persians, and through me did they conquer"; that is, by his name, when they chose as their battle-cry, "O Muḥammad!" The preparations for battle on both sides are described. Handhala b. Sayyár cuts down the women's litters, so that flight shall be impossible for his Arabs. Ayás b. Qabísa, unwilling to fight against his compatriots, proposes to them

three alternatives, but they elect battle. Hámarz, the Persian general, comes out and challenges to single combat with the cry "*Mard* [*u*] *mard!*" (cf. D. 130), "Man and man" (يدعو الى البراز رجلاً لرجل). This challenge is accepted, and he is slain by Zayd b. Hammád al-Yashkurí. The Persians suffer from want of water. Night intervenes, and the Arab allies of the Persians agree to desert to the side of their compatriots on the following day. Notwithstanding this defection, and the thirst which consumes them, the Persians fight gallantly, but their leader Khurrá-ba-zín falls, and they are routed and slain.—Poems composed by the Arabs on this occasion.—Grief and anger of the Persian King.

The narrative (f. 205a = D. 110, l. 13) now rejoins Dínawarí in the account of the eventually disastrous campaign against the Byzantines, which immediately preceded the deposition and murder of Khusraw Parvîz. The names of the three Persian generals are here given as Sháhín (as in D. 110), Shahr-bundád (D. Búz, T. Rum-búzán), and Shahrán-zád (D. Shahriyár). Their operations, till the tide of fortune is turned by Heraclius, are similarly recounted, and the reference to the Byzantine successes in the Qur'án (xxx, 1 et seqq.: cf. T. 297) is noted; but in the section on the *Cause of the Murder of Khusraw Abarwîz* (f. 205b) the *Niháyat* again becomes much fuller.

Khusraw, angered at the defeat of his army and suspecting cowardice or treachery, makes out a list of 20,000 soldiers [cf. D. 111, ll. 15 et seqq.] whom he consigns to prison, intending to kill them. He then makes a low-born man named Khurdádhín minister of finance, who, by his extortions, increases the popular discontent. For Khusraw possessed vast treasures, of which an inventory was made in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, when his property included 3,000 concubines, 1,000 handmaidens, 8,500 horses, 990 elephants, 12,000 mules, 400,000,000 purses of dirhams, 100,000 purses of dínárs, and a vast quantity of jewels, gold and silver plate, furs, precious fabrics, and the like.

When he had reigned thirty-seven years, he ordered the captain of his guard to kill the imprisoned soldiers. "How," replied he, "shall I kill 20,000 men?" The King orders him to kill a thousand each day, but he, fearing trouble, takes no action.

At this juncture arrives the letter from the Prophet Muhammad bidding the Persian King embrace Islám or do battle in the following words:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم 'من محمد رسول الله الى كسرى بن
هرمز، اما بعد، فاني احمد اليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو وهو
الذي اوانى وكنت يتيماً و اغنانى وكنت عائلاً وهدانى وكنت
ضالاً ولن يدع ما ارسلت به الا من قد سلب معقوله والبلاء غالب
عليه، اما بعد، يا كسرى فاسلم تسلم او ايذن بحرب من الله
ورسوله ولن يعجزهما و السلام'

Khusraw Parvîz, infuriated at this letter, writes to Bâdhân, his governor in Yaman, bidding him march on Madîna, fight Muhammad, take him prisoner, and send him to the Persian capital. He bids the messenger who bears this letter (a man of ascetic and pious life named *Abânú'ê*, ابانويه) go first to Madîna and invite Muhammad to come in person and explain his doctrine to the Persian King. In case of his refusal, the letter to Bâdhân is then to be delivered. On reaching Madîna, *Abânú'ê* is informed by the Prophet that Parvîz is no longer King, having been deposed on the previous day by his son *Shîrú'ê*. *Abânú'ê*, not believing this, goes to Yaman and delivers the letter to Bâdhân, who decides to wait for news from Persia before taking any action. Soon a letter arrives from *Shîrú'ê* announcing his accession, and bidding Bâdhân not to molest Muhammad. Bâdhân and many of his Persian followers are hereby converted to Islám.

Next comes the account of the various portents by which Khusraw Parvîz is warned that his death and the destruction

of his dynasty are at hand. These include a warning vision, a visitation by an angel, who breaks the staff which typifies the Persian power, and the writing on the wall, of which the purport in Arabic is given as follows:—

أيها العبد الضعيف إن الله قد بعث إلى خلقه رسولا وانزل
عليه كتابا فاسلم وآمن يجمع لك خير الدنيا والآخرة وانت إن
لم تفعل هلكت عن قريب وباد ملكك و زال عنك سلطانك

Khusraw Parvīz, however, continues impenitent, and persists in his intention of putting to death the imprisoned soldiers, whose comrades and friends thereupon depose him, and make Shīrū'ē, his son by Maryam, the Byzantine Princess, King in his place. The first intimation that Parvīz has of this is that, awaking early in the morning, he hears the watchmen around the palace crying, "*Pās! pās! Shīrū'ē Shāhānshāh!*" ("Watch! watch! Shīrū'ē is King!": cf. T. 357 and p. 202, *supra*). He escapes by a rope from his palace and flees to a garden called الميروان, where he hides, but is discovered later, and imprisoned in the house of a *marzubān* named هرمسفه (D. 112). Thither he is conveyed, with veiled face, on a sorry horse, escorted by about a hundred troopers. On the way they pass the shop of a cobbler, who insults the fallen King with cries of "Wretch! Libertine! Tyrant!" and finally hurls a boot at him which strikes his horse. Thereupon one of the troopers turns back, reviles the cobbler, and cuts off his head. The deposed King is finally committed to the custody of one Hīlūs or Haylūs (حيلوس, but lower جيلوس : D. 111, l. 19; T. جيلنوس) with a guard of 500 men.

23. *Shīrū'ē* (A.D. 627–628: N. 208*a*–212*b*; D. 111–116).

Shīrū'ē begins his reign with the usual throne-speech and a distribution of gifts and remission of taxes. The nobles tell him that he must put his father to death, or else they will depose him. He asks for a day's delay to investigate

the late King's alleged misdeeds, and sends his chief secretary (here called *Ashtád-Gushnas*, اشتاد جشنس, elsewhere اشتاد جشنس, استاد جشنس, استاد جشنس, and استاد جشنس : D. 112, *Yazdán-Gushnas*; T. 362, *Aspádh-Gushnasp*) to conduct this enquiry. The charges against the deposed King (D. 112-113; T. 363-368) are chiefly: (1) His cruel treatment of his own father, Hurmuzd; (2) his harshness towards his sons; (3) the proposed execution of the 20,000 soldiers; (4) his greed in appropriating to himself so many wives and concubines, of whom he could not take proper care; (5) his appointment of the ignoble Khurdádhín (lower, Khurzádhín) as finance minister, and the sanctioning of his exactions; (6) his ingratitude towards the Byzantine Empire (the Emperor's son is here called فيطوس), and his refusal to return the Wood of the True Cross; (7) his slaying Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir, notwithstanding the services rendered by him and his ancestors to the Persian Royal Family, from the time of Bahrám Gúr, because he refused to give up his daughter Hurayqa. Shíru'É's letter containing these charges is brought to the prison by Ashtád-Gushnasp, whose interviews with the governor of the gaol, Jaylús, and with the deposed King, are described with great detail (f. 209), including the bad augury drawn by the latter from a quince which was lying beside him on a cushion, and which, being disturbed, rolled on to the carpet and thence into the dust (T. 367-368). Khusraw Parváz's categorical reply to Shíru'É's accusations agrees closely with Ṭabarí (pp. 370-379). The Indian King Purumêsha, by whose astrologers Shíru'É's accession and the date thereof were predicted, is here called قروميسا (cf. D. 113, l. 19). The third accusation and its answer differ from T. in that there it is a question of imprisonment only, not of execution. In the reply to the fifth accusation mention is made of the peculiar Court of Appeal (دكان المظالم) established by Khusraw Parváz and described by the Nidhámú'l-Mulk in his *Siyásat-náma* (ed. Schefer, p. 10). The Indian King's comparison of Persia to a garden [D. 114, l. 18; T. 375, n. 1 *ad calc.*: the King

is here called [ترمیس] also occurs here (f. 211a). The sum given to the Byzantine Emperor, placed by D. (p. 114) at a million dirhams, is here estimated at 1,500 purses (بدرة). Khusraw Parvīz concludes his categorical answers to the charges brought against him with an eloquent defence of his general policy.

The murder of Khusraw Parvīz is described as in T. 379-382, and his murderer is named, as in that account, Mihr Hormuzd, son of Mardānshāh, but the latter is described, as in D. 115, as *Pādūspān* (فادوسفان) of Babel, not of Nīmruz, so that the two accounts seem to be here combined. The date of the murder is wrongly given as A.H. 3 instead of A.H. 6 (cf. T. 382, n. 2 *ad calc.*: Feb. 29, 628). Shīrū'ē's prime minister is here named, as in the *Mujmil* and Persian Ṭabarī, Barmak son of Pīrūz, the ancestor of the Barmecides (cf. T. 383, n. 2 *ad calc.*). The names of the seventeen brothers murdered by the parricide (cf. T. 383, n. 1 *ad calc.*) are here given as follows:—

شهربدان، جوانشیر، اوطسه، قسدیل، جوانشاه، شهربراز،
 مهره‌دانشاه، ارواندست، ارواندوگ، یزدجرد، اددانفراخ، شهربخت،
 فیروزشاه، فروخ، مردفناه، شارشان، بهمن

Seven months later, having reigned only eight months, he falls sick and dies, and is succeeded by his little son Ardashīr, who is made King under the regency of a man named *Mih-A'dhar-Gushnasp* (مهادرچشنس: cf. T. 386).

The Fall of the Sāsānian Dynasty (A.D. 628-652 :
 N. 212b-230b ; D. 116-149).

The short and troubled reigns of the remaining kings and queens of the House of Sāsān need hardly be separated. Our text here follows Ṭabarī rather than Dīnawarī. The army of the usurper *Shahrbarāz* (here شهرابران, an obvious corruption) is, however, estimated at 24,000 instead of 6,000 men (cf. T. 387 and n. 2 *ad calc.*), and the details

of his treachery are omitted, while the account of his assassination is much abridged. *Púrán-dukht*, daughter of Khusráw Parvíz, is then made queen, while her little brother (son of Parvíz and Gurdiya, named *Jucánshir* in D. 116) is being educated to assume the reins of government; but he dies six months later, and she is confirmed on the throne, issues an address to her subjects, remits one-third of the taxes, dies after a wise reign of thirteen months (T. 392 has "sixteen months"), and is succeeded by her sister *A'zarmi-dukht*.

We now come to the final portion of the book, describing the Arab invasion and conquest of Persia, which agrees very closely with *Dínawarí*, though the arrangement of the matter is slightly different, viz.: D. 116-122; 124-125; 136-137; 126-127; 129-130; 133-137; 141-145; 137-140; 148-149. The *Niháyat* confines itself more to Persian affairs, and has the following additions and variations. 'Umar's harangue on his accession [D. 118].—His letter to al-Muthanná [D. 118].—The name of *A'zarmi-dukht* stands for that of *Púrán-dukht* [D. 120, l. 2].—On the same page, the battle is here more fully described: the Persians, after their first rout, reform at Nahr-Salím, and Mihrán challenges al-Muthanná to single combat, and is slain by him. Dayr-Qubádh stands for Abar-Qubádh [D. 124, l. 8]. Rustam, when he has encamped at Dayru'l-A'war [D. 126], sends for the notables of Hira, amongst whom is the aged 'Abdu'l-Masíh b. Hayyán (then about 300 years old), and reproaches them for their sympathy with the Arabs. 'Abdu'l-Masíh, acting as their spokesman, answers as follows (f. 218b):—

فقال عبد المسيح أما قولك أنا فرحنا بمجيهم الى بلادكم فكيف
نفرح وليسوا على ملتنا ومحسن قوم نصارى وهم يشهدون علينا
بالكفر، وأما قولك أنا صرنا عيوننا لهم فهل كانوا يحتاجون الى
العيون وقد هرب اصحابكم واخلوا عليهم البلاد والضرع والزرع

فلم يمنهم احد منكم عن هذه النواحي واما ما زعمتم انا قويناهم بالاموال فانا افتدينا منهم انفسنا باموالنا اذ لم تمنعونا خوفاً من ان نستباح و نقتل و لقد عجز عنهم من لقيهم من جنودكم فاحن احرى ان نعجز عنهم و لعمري ااكم احب الينا منهم فامنعونا نكن لكم فانما نحن عبيد من غلب ، فقال رستم لجلسائه خصمكم الشيخ و ادلى حججاً واضحة و كلاماً بيناً ،

On the same page [D. 126] some additional particulars are here given of the exploit of Tulayha, who kills four [D. "two"] of his pursuers and captures the survivor, whom he brings before the Arab general, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqás, and compels to describe the exploit, and to give information through an interpreter about the position and strength of the Persian army (estimated at 50,000). This Persian captive then embraces Islám.

The interview of Rustam [D. 127] with al-Mughíra, the Arab envoy, is also described here with greater detail. Rustam offers the Arabs abundance of food, and presents of 1000 dínars for 'Umar, 500 for Sa'd, 200 each to a hundred of the chief amírs, 100 each to a thousand minor captains, and 20 each to the soldiers. On al-Mughíra's refusal of this proposition and offer of the usual alternatives, Rustam relates the parable of the Fox in the Vineyard (essentially identical with that of the Weasel in the Henhouse in Æsop), to which he compares the greedy Arabs. A few additional details of the ensuing battle, in which the Persians are said to number 100,000 men and 12 elephants, and the Muslims only 24,000 men, are given, including the part played by the Arab women and children in checking the initial Arab retreat, the death of two Persian champions (*hasár-mard*), and the confusion caused in the Persian ranks by a wounded elephant (*lacuna of one leaf, viz. f. 223*). The Persian words *diván ámadand* cited by D. (p. 133, last line) are

here explained in Arabic: الشياطين قد اقبلوا. The Persian commander called Khurrazádh by D. (p. 133) is here called Khurdádh. The simplicity of the Arabs, as shown by their ignorance of the value of gold and camphor, is related as in *al-Fakhri* (ed. Ahlwardt, p. 100). The crown of Khusraw Parvîz is said to have been amongst the spoils taken at al-Madá'in, and to have been sent to 'Umar, who hung it up in the Ka'ba at Mecca, "where it remains till this day" (f. 224b). Nahávand stands for Hulwán in D. 135, last line. The Persian army, gathered together at Nahávand, described by D. [p. 141, l. 12] merely as "a great host," is here estimated at 300,000 men. The names of the Arab positions before the Battle of Nahávand are nearly the same as in D. 143, viz. المدسحان and الاسفيذهان, while the name of the position (distant half a parasang from the Arab lines) occupied by the Persians under Mardánsháh is given as حلهشت, near a mountain called ايرای. The Arab army is estimated at one-tenth of the Persian force, viz. 30,000 men. The battle is described as beginning on a Wednesday [D. 144, "Tuesday"]. The Friday is passed by the Arabs in prayer, but by the Persians in wine-drinking and song—an exact parallel to the Norman account of the eve of the Battle of Hastings. The above-mentioned mountain of ايرای (so pointed in this place) takes the place of Diz-Ízad in D. 144, l. 19. The number of Persians who perish in the ditch is stated at "about 100"—probably a clerical error for 100,000, since otherwise the words "God made this a destruction to them" would hardly be justified—while those slain in the battle are estimated at 40,000. A further stand is made by some of the local *marzubáns* and nobles at a village to the north of Nahávand named فهرمذوكان (lower, فهرمك), which place is surrendered by Dínár [D. 145]. The traitor who admits the Arabs into Shushtar is here called Shanbak [D. 138, "Sína"]; his fate is described as in D. The story of Hurmuzán before 'Umar, omitted by D. [p. 140] as too well known to need repetition, is here given in full, in the usual form. The

death of Yazdigird, which concludes the narrative, differs from D.'s account in only two or three minute details. The number of troops sent by the Kháqán to Merv under the command of a *Tarkhán* is given as 30,000, and the name of the river on which was situated the mill where the unfortunate King was murdered, after he had privily escaped from Merv by a cord let down over the city wall, is given as *الروحي*. As to the fate of the traitor Máhú'é, it is said that he escaped to Fárs [D. 149, "Abar-shahr"] and took refuge with 'Uthmán, though according to another account he was slain at Merv.

Having now completed the examination and analysis of the *Nihāyat*, I feel bound to confess that it has hardly fulfilled my expectations, and that I should have done better to accept Nöldeke's verdict than to spend so much time in arriving at results which in the main only serve to confirm it. Yet having devoted to it so much labour, and still believing that there are in the book elements of interest, if not of historical value, I desired to make public the results of my toil, that at least others might be spared the necessity of devoting to the work energies which might be better employed. I do not think, closely as it agrees with Dínawarí, that its materials were derived directly therefrom, but rather that both books were drawn from a common source. In some cases, as we have seen, when D. has some expression like "concerning this the Persians relate many stories," the *Nihāyat* gives in full narratives which are presumably the stories in question. In other cases it contains incidents otherwise known to us only from single sources, including not only such well-known histories as Tabarí, Hamza, and the *Mujmil*, but the rare '*Uyúnu'l-akhbár* of Ibn Qutayba, the works of al-Jáhidh, and the *Siyásat-náma*. To the minor additions—such as the exact numbers given in the case of contending armies, and the like—no great importance can be attached. The numerous throne-speeches, admonitions, and letters cited in full may repose on a Pahlavi original, since it is

generally recognized that such elements entered largely into the *Khudáy-námak*, and when such are given in Dínawarí the correspondence with our text is close, so that they do not appear to be arbitrary embellishments added by the unknown author or compiler. At the lowest estimate, MSS. of the *Niháyat* should undoubtedly be used for help and control by any future translator of the earlier portion of Dínawarí's delightful history.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above article was in type and finally paged, I have, with the help of my friend and colleague Mr. Ellis H. Minns, finished the perusal of Baron Rosen's article in the *Vostochniya Zamyétki*, and have learned that practically all the stories about Khusraw Parvís, Shírín, and Gurdiya, to which reference is made on pp. 243-245, *supra* (including the *Story of Mushkdána and the Múbadhán - múbadh*, of which the Arabic text is here printed), are contained in the *Kitábu'l-Maḥásin wa'l-Aḡdád*, ascribed to al-Jáḥidh (ed. Van Vloten, pp. 252-257). Had I been aware of this sooner, I should not, of course, have reprinted this extract. Essentially the same story is, I believe, told of Aristotle (who takes the place of the *Múbadh*) and Alexander (who takes the place of Khusraw Parvís).
